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The job of educating teachers.

Maguire, Meg

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The Job of Educating Teachers

Meg Maguire

1993



Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

“Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves.”

**William Pitt in the House of Commons
18th November 1783**

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Abstract

Through an ethnographic account undertaken in one college, this study attempts to illuminate the concerns of tutors who educate school teachers. In the first section it is argued that teacher education has been shaped through an interplay between the necessity to produce the right numbers of teachers as cheaply as possible and the assertion that this is the best way to produce 'good' teachers. This interplay has been worked and reworked over time to reproduce certain historical continuities as well as discontinuities in the job of educating teachers.

The study moves into a critical account of the job of teacher education in one college. Sacred Heart was established over a hundred years ago and has accommodated to the changes in legislation and policy shifts which have occurred over this time. The 'culture' of the college is explored and the staffing levels and patterns in the teaching studies faculty is explored.

The third section looks at the micropolitical aspects of the job. One chapter examines the way that teacher education is not always regarded as an academic enterprise within the college and a second chapter interrogates the issue of what it is like to be a woman 'doing' teacher education.

The final section examines the manner in which various policies have shaped the world of teacher educators. The issue of managing financial cuts in a setting where quality has to be maintained is considered. The final chapter looks at what has now become in many ways 'the impossible job'.

Introduction

For over one hundred years the teachers of the people have been educated for their work in institutions specially developed for this role. The old training colleges which pioneered teacher education changed their name but retained their work over the years. Those Colleges of Higher Education, which have survived the exigencies of time, have their own culture, their own traditions and their own histories. Yet these institutions have often been seen as second-rate, and have been marginalised along with teacher education. When cuts have come, it has been this sector which has borne the brunt of reductions and closures. Teacher education has been easy to attack and difficult to defend.

In this study I have two main points of focus; the culture of working as a teacher educator in one small college, Sacred Heart; and the contemporary policy context of teacher education. Firstly, the study considers the pressures, demands and tensions which have underpinned and constrained the provision of teachers for state maintained schools historically and argues that these themes persist as continuities and discontinuities embedded in time to be constantly worked and reworked to shape provision in different socio-economic contexts. Themes of supply and demand, the cheap but 'good' teacher, reverberate across time. Secondly, the study examines what it is like to do the job of educating teachers. This occupational group has received little attention from researchers and in this study I examine how a group of tutors in the faculty of teaching studies make sense of their work and of the current policy context which challenges their personal philosophies.

The dissertation is organised in four parts. The first section provides a critical historical account of teacher education in order to demonstrate the continuities in provision over time. The second section introduces the culture and ethos of Sacred Heart College where the empirical work was undertaken. A profile of tutors in the education department is developed and a discussion of some important micropolitical themes is introduced. The third section explores these themes in greater detail; issues of 'academic' versus 'educationalist' perspectives are discussed and the place of women in Sacred Heart is interrogated. The final section examines broader issues. Financial constraints as well as other contemporary changes in policy are critically reviewed. The section finishes with a chapter which considers teacher education to be 'the impossible job'.

This is not a classic ethnography; it is not organised around principles of 'thick' or exhaustive description. The setting of the study at Sacred Heart, as an ethnographic context, provides both an opportunity to explore the life in and the responses of a single denominational college to the policy changes in higher education in the late 80s- early 90s. It also works as a vehicle for an analysis of the agendas, thrusts, discourses and contradictions within the policies themselves. Thus on the one hand the thesis is an account of Sacred Heart, in which I aim for grounded

veracity and adequacy. On the other, the thesis provides a series of illustrations and instances of the impact and effects of policy on practice, where I am aiming for an analytical adequacy which does not rely upon exhaustive description of cases. In other words, the emphasis is upon argument rather than data. Within this thesis only a small amount of the total data set is deployed.

Teacher education has always been a marginalised, neglected occupation. It is now under considerable threat and may indeed cease to exist as an aspect of higher educational provision. Rather than focusing on issues of 'how to do it better' or defending past practice, this study examines what it is actually like to do the job. This study intends to give voice to a hitherto neglected group of education workers. In this way it is hoped to open up debate and expose the potential within the space afforded by 'the impossible job'.

The desire is not to substitute an alternative or more secure foundation.....a 'successor regime', but to produce an awareness of the complexity, historical contingency and fragility of the practices that we invent to discover the truth about ourselves.

(Lather 91: 6-7)

Introduction to Section One

A critical history

Teacher education has a long and complex history and it is not intended to present a detailed and chronological account in this section. That has been done elsewhere (Dent 77, Rich 33). What will be argued is that the job of teacher education has been constructed around specific, persistent, structural and ideological concerns which assert themselves at different historical moments. Some of these concerns are related to the role of the state, issues of supply and demand and the continual existence of a wide variety of routes into teaching. Other concerns are related to persistent calls for 'professionalism', particular appeals to specific bodies of knowledge like psychology or sociology and the enduring tension between theory and practice. Taken together these themes produce, at particular periods or junctures, crises of practice and uncertainties of role for those with the job of educating teachers.

A critical reading of the historical accounts of teacher education, the large -scale chronological accounts as well as the individual institutional histories, reveals the centrality and potency of these issues. It also reveals some of the complexities and contradictions which characterise this provision. Teacher education has been justified in different ways at different times; as an element in social control as well as reform; as a necessary evil or a force for good. Its roots lie in the social and political construction of the elementary school teacher for the urban working classes. Although teacher education has been extended to cover all the statutory years of schooling, it is significant that teachers can still work in the private sector without any teaching qualification. In a very real sense, there are important questions to be asked about the role and purposes of teacher education which are not adequately addressed in the chronological accounts.

Traditional histories of teacher education, like traditional histories of schooling, have tended to stress an evolutionary, functionalist perspective. Normal schools, teachers' colleges and university departments/colleges/schools of education all emerged, it is argued, when there was a need for their contribution, and they changed over time as the need shifted.

(Ginsberg 88:28)

Ginsberg believes that historical accounts of teacher education have tended to treat social and educational change as unproblematic; change is typically regarded as a positive move which makes the system work ever more effectively for the good of a homogeneous community. This does not tell the whole story. Here I want to consider the way in which various elements of social, political and economic needs, constraints and expectations have been interwoven and overlapped in the construction of teacher education. A collage of interests, structural concerns, competing beliefs and values has been generated and this has served dominant interests at

particular times. That this has not always occurred in a straightforward manner has in part been due to the existence of conflicting positions within the educational state and within teacher education. Change, in teacher education as elsewhere, has always been uneven and has always been contested.

The state, capital and the education system

In many ways the history of teacher education complements the development of state schooling. The provision of a national school system required the provision of teachers to work in the classrooms and, quite early in the nineteenth century, the state took on this responsibility. So it is important to investigate the relationship between the state, capital and the educational system, for it is here that fundamental contradictions in teacher education have their roots. Factors related to economic imperatives, political shifts and materiality cannot be disregarded. The relationship between schooling and the needs of the economy in a capitalist society need to be explored within the context of the state, as this funds and indirectly shapes the educational system (see Coda).

The state takes some responsibility for a minimum level of provision of basic education and some amelioration of aspects of poverty and poor health. Although capital produces wealth, the state takes responsibility, in part, for the conditions necessary to enable production and also for the amelioration of the disorganising effects of capital itself.

Many of the interactions and regulations which organise schooling as a process have the overall effect of harnessing the school to society through the moral and ideological 'cultivation' of labour, the engineering of the appropriate modes of consent and control in the social classes which will be dominant and subordinate in adult society.

(Hall 77:14)

But it is too simplistic to argue that the state has merely developed an educational system in order to school the masses for the needs of capital; there will be a variety of expectations of a school system in any complex society with competing values (Jonathan 86). These will run to collective beliefs in terms of national economic performance and individual advantage, and perhaps even personal and collective emancipation. In a free market economy there will be no straightforward links between capital and labour; any relationship will be characterised by contradiction in different times in different contexts.

Reader (79) believes that in the nineteenth century a range of contradictions developed from the debates about the purposes of schooling and the needs of society which persist into the contemporary situation. A continuing conflict can be traced back between those who desired a liberal humanist provision set against those who wanted to socialise and discipline the children from the working classes, as well as some small but persistent voices which saw an

emancipatory possibility in education. There was, too, a focus on the needs of a nation in terms of its economic prosperity and military prowess. There was also a range of fears and anxieties connected with urban poverty and the residuum. However, all this needs to be set against and with an understanding of the role of the state.

Neither studying education in isolation nor studying it with an explicit but vague appreciation of its relationship with society is adequate. While very many social forces affect education in very important ways, the major motor of educational change in capitalist societies is the changing nature of the capitalist State.

(Dale 89:45)

Dale argues that the state acts to exclude rather than include particular elements in order to strengthen the hand of capital. It can exclude any aspect which it perceives as threatening to the interests of capital accumulation. The state does act on behalf of capital accumulation but in a complex manner. There are a variety of demands from different fractions of capital; from manufacturing, local government, research or service industries come different employment needs. Therefore the relationship between the state and its educational service cannot be linear. In addition, Dale believes that the state itself has to be able to deal with crises which may undermine its own authority and influence. It manages any attempt to de-legitimize itself through an interplay with 'value' and 'sense' (Habermas 76).

The state can provide 'value' by continuing to meet society's expectations and by meeting the needs of basic provisions. However, when the social wage grows faster than the economy, and social spending has to be curtailed, then the state can resort to issues of 'sense'. The state has to redefine what should be expected of it; value-based legitimations are undermined and 'sensible' rationalisations are made. In such times, for example, the state might argue that education is not really to do with individual fulfilment but with the needs of industry and national survival.

Dale contends that the state has three tasks; the need to support capital accumulation, the need to guarantee a context for capital expansion; and the need to legitimate all this as well as the state's involvement in this process.

The three basic problems confronting the State are paralleled throughout the educational system and do not exist only at the level of overall educational policy; many of the problems facing individual teachers in classrooms can be traced back to contradictions engendered by the attempt to solve two or more of the problems simultaneously. The educational system is expected to contribute to the meeting of the economic, political and legitimacy needs of the State and, at any and every level of education, just as in the State as a whole, the simultaneous solution of these problems is impossible.

(Dale 89:48)

When this is applied to the development of teacher education then many inherent contradictions are made visible. What emerges is a constant interplay between 'value' and 'sense' which in turn highlights the various 'inclusions' and 'exclusions' over time.

The role of discourse

It is important to understand how the state manages these inclusions and exclusions and this interplay between 'value' and 'sense'. It is important to understand how consent is achieved and a degree of consensus maintained round particular state strategies. Structural and material changes are not just imposed in a coercive and repressive manner; they are negotiated and surreptitiously slipped into place with a degree of consent on the part of civil society.

By 'normalizing' and 'naturalizing' existing beliefs, practices and procedures.... such ingrained assumptions routinely, undramatically but very effectively, serve the preservation of existing dominant interests in society.

(Hargreaves 86:23)

I will be arguing throughout the study that specific discourses underpin and provide for this 'normalizing' and 'naturalizing' process. So, it is important to indicate what is understood by 'discourse'. This term will be employed in a specific manner derived from the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault was concerned to explore the connections between power and knowledge. Knowledge is what is permitted through discourse. Knowledge and power are two parts of an identical process.

Knowledge does not reflect power relations but is immanent in them. Discourses are, therefore, about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak when, where and with what authority.

(Ball 90:17)

Discourses both include and exclude particular meanings and power relationships; meanings frequently stand in antagonism to each another. Not surprisingly, in this form of analysis, words will take on different meanings in different discourses. In relation to teacher education, discourses round themes like 'practical' or 'professional' or 'relevant' can work in this contradictory manner. Discourses "construct certain possibilities for thought" (Ball 90:18).

Knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse...there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice, and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms.

(Foucault 77:182-183)

Whilst some discursive formations have clearly contained elements which have served dominant interests, others have had more oppositional and alternative potential. For example, what has been understood as 'the good teacher' has been translated into practical outcomes in

relation to teacher education and particular discursive formations have been set alongside this construct in order to best serve 'dominant interests' in society at specific moments in history. However, these constructions have been contested by other competing discourses round 'the good teacher', in particular those which have been generated by aspects of developmental psychology as well as the sociology of education.

Summary

Many persistent and recurring elements have contributed to the development of teacher education. Issues such as supply and demand, what counts as good teacher education set against the need for cost effectiveness have a long and enduring history. In the first chapter I examine some of the structural and discursive concerns which are located historically but which impact on the job of teacher education. The second chapter traces the manner in which these concerns have continued to exercise constraints and pressures in the contemporary setting. The final chapter in this section considers the way in which these elements have shaped the job of teacher education over time. This necessarily limited historical account will focus on key moments in time and will highlight the dominant discursive strategies which are involved. It will be argued that the state has attempted to 'manage' teacher education in relation to the needs of capital and, through the discourses of 'value' and 'sense', has articulated this in a climate of some consent.

Chapter One

Historical Themes

Origins of teacher education

No systematic training of teachers occurred in Britain until the nineteenth century but moves towards this were being made, notably by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which was founded to safeguard the morals of the urban poor. From this start, it was an inevitable and logical development that charity schools be set up to promote Christian knowledge for the poor. Teachers for these schools were recruited more for their religious commitment and moral outlook than intellectual capacity. Yet men teachers needed to have clear handwriting and be numerate, whereas women were not expected to teach arithmetic but they needed to be able to teach reading and be able to sew and knit. As Dent (77) points out, this does constitute a demand of sorts for some qualifications in a period where the education and care of the young might indeed be entrusted to almost anyone available. But these early demands illustrate other dimensions as well. At the very outset, teacher education can be seen as being justified through a need to assert a form of social control as well as having a philanthropic project. What is also critical is that teacher education was only seen as necessary for the schooling of the working classes. And as with the schools themselves, the impetus for the training of teachers came from voluntary church-based organisations, motivated by conflicting justifications: social control and a particular construct of morality, intertwined with a philanthropic project - the civilising and 'gentling' of the masses.

In the 1780s, a training scheme was established at the SPCK school in Yorkshire by the Society of Friends. The methods used to prepare teachers were those of apprenticeship. This scheme was further refined and systematised by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster who decided to use pupil-teachers under the control of one adult superintendent for any school, however large. A monitorial system was devised and each aspect of school life, organisation, curriculum, and discipline was broken down into small components to be understood and learned by the monitors and then passed on to the younger pupils. These unpaid monitors taught younger children what they had previously learned by rote. But this system, although cost free, contained particular problems because some of the monitors involved were barely literate and could be as young as seven or eight. At this time, teaching was being conceptualised as the inculcation of particular information through a uniformly prescribed method. Understanding was not central; what was required was efficient transmission relying on memory, repetition and a specific pedagogy. It was not unduly successful.

Lancaster realised that the superintendents would need to be carefully trained so that they understood the whole system in order to implement it in new schools. So he opened the first training college for teachers in the Borough Road of Southwark in 1798 and a year or two later he invented the Teachers' Certificate to ensure that his students were properly credited and were distinguishable from others. Bell was most unimpressed by Lancaster's training for he thought that,

It is by attending the school, seeing what is going on there and taking a share in the office of tuition that teachers are to be formed and not by lectures and formal instruction.

(Bell in Dent 77:5)

As Dent notes wryly, "thus early was born the barren dispute about the relative value of theory and practice in the training of teachers" (Dent 77:5).

Joseph Lancaster's experiment was successful and it persisted. However, he was not an efficient administrator and inevitably a small organising committee formed which eventually became the British and Foreign School Society, the name it still had in 1975. Bell set up a parallel monitorial system with the support of the Church of England. This resulted in the formation of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. The society set up a model school in 1812 in Baldwins Gardens off Grays Inn Road where monitors were trained on the job.

Although it was soon realised that the monitorial system was inadequate and there was a need for better- trained teachers, there were several lasting effects from these early developments. Firstly, there was a continual rivalry between the Societies which effectively prevented any united national provision. Secondly, the insertion of religious denominations into education was effectively established. And thirdly, the Societies set a framework for the curriculum of teacher training institutions which persisted well into the twentieth century. The British and National Societies had been shocked to discover that many applicants for teaching were illiterate and so they instituted examinations and a probationary period before awarding a Teachers' Certificate. Admittedly, this was very rudimentary but it was a start on the road towards a 'professionalised' training. Both Societies agreed that the courses should consist of English, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history and handwriting. As Dent says, the 'pioneers' who created the English training colleges inherited certain key features from these beginnings; entrance qualifications, a course of general education and professional school-based training, a final qualification and a probationary period of entry. They also instituted the principle that teachers should be educated in residential colleges. While there were undoubted gains, right from the start dilemmas which were to bedevil the development of teacher education were being laid down.

Teacher training began in 1798 in Southwark, a slum district of London. That Southwark rather than Oxbridge was the home of teacher training explains many of the problems facing teacher education today: its lack of credibility as a discipline; a dearth of academic ability among its students; and the ambiguities of a curriculum embracing personal education and professional training. All of these have denied it money, resources and until recently, talent, and can be said to have their roots in its humble birth in Southwark. Unlike theology, medicine or law, it has no historic claim to a university tradition of academic excellence or respectability. It has more in common instead with medieval craft guilds, whose apprenticeship system preceded modern technical education.

(Hencke 78:13)

A major development was the establishment of a number of small colleges all with a similar and identifiable ethos. For example, St Mark's College which was opened in the village of Chelsea just outside London in 1838 is described by Hencke (78:16) as having "a genteel country college atmosphere, similar to the colleges of Oxbridge", a theme which many colleges were to imitate. The finishing touch was to appoint a university academic as principal. By 1846 there were twenty-one such small colleges set up by the Anglican supported National Society which then outnumbered those set up by the British Society. It is fascinating to note that these colleges were given financial support from central government; state intervention was evident in teacher education even before schooling was regulated in 1870. However, the development of these 'gentrified' colleges set in place an ethos, a college 'culture' peculiar to the teacher education establishments which endured well into the twentieth century (Taylor 69).

As various colleges were being established by a variety of religious and philanthropic groups, underpinning these models were specific interpretations of what sort of teacher was needed to educate the poor. Kay-Shuttleworth's experiment at St John's College, Battersea, was an attempt to introduce a humble and hard-working teacher for the poor. The students were in effect seminarians and were exposed to a chastening residential experience where hours were long and conditions were spare. In contrast, Derwent Collieridge, the principal of St Mark's, focused on classical studies and the notion of scholarly development in the teacher; the notion of the 'educated person' was established here; teacher education had a concern with personal intellectual growth. At Chester College, a third model was on offer. Arthur Rigg, the first principal, established a multi-purpose foundation where a training college, a boarding school for middle class students and an elementary school were maintained on the same site. The training college focused on practical skills like cabinet-making, carving, and stone-quarrying. Each student teacher was also to become a skilled worker. Rigg wanted to develop a particular type of teacher drawn from an industrial background and trained in science and industry. Although some of these discourses were to persist, the model which was to predominate was the Battersea model. It was cheap, utilitarian and practical.

The revisions of the training college syllabus and examinations carried out in the 1850s by HMIs Mosely and Cook, coupled with the payment by results era introduced by the Revised Code in 1862, ensured the victory of the Battersea approach.

(Aldrich 90:18)

From the very inception of the crudest forms of teacher education, the monitorial system and the pupil -teacher apprentice route, various discourses were put into place which have left a residue. Teachers only needed to be prepared for the children of the working classes because it was this class which was most feared; feared for its socialist potential and feared for its 'moral turpitude'. There was an insistence on moral order to maintain stability and consensus in this class. Teachers were to be moral, humble and were, in the main, 'trained' for the elementary school. These teachers were predominantly drawn from the 'respectable' working classes and, later, the lower middle classes.

Although some form of theoretical knowledge was considered essential, the degree and quality of this was debated; were the teachers of the poor to be themselves 'educated people' or were they merely to inculcate the 'basics'? What all were agreed upon by the mid-nineteenth century was that teaching was a practical affair and that this had to be reflected in the preparation of teachers. This underpinned and underscored the form of training, the apprenticeship model, which was to dominate the nineteenth century and is being reasserted one hundred years later.

While these developments were taking place and specific discourses of control, morality and philanthropy were shaping aspects of provision, the interplay between 'value' and 'sense' which was to set the agenda in relation to various 'inclusions' and 'exclusions' over time was also having a direct structural effect. Essentially the problem was related to the need to produce a good teacher cheaply.

Structural concerns

How to produce a 'good' teacher cheaply a recurring state theme

After the Reform Act of 1832, there had been increasing moves to introduce a state system of education for all the people and, by 1834, a sum of £10,000 had been allocated for the building of a normal school or training college to prepare elementary school teachers. But in 1839, when a committee of the Privy Council on Education was appointed specifically to establish a normal school, it met with such widespread protests, mainly on the issue of religious education where Nonconformists and Anglicans could not agree, that the proposal was abandoned. However, the chair of the committee, James Kay-Shuttleworth took action himself. He went about obtaining state funding for voluntary colleges and he also established the normal college at Battersea.

Kay-Shuttleworth's system worked on the basis that a teacher could select their 'best' thirteen-year-olds to begin the five-year teaching apprenticeships. The pupil would still be taught by the teacher but would also teach the younger children. They would be paid for undertaking this work. At the end of the apprenticeship, the pupil could attend the normal school, obtain a certificate and then move back into a school as a fully-qualified teacher. Pupil-teacher apprentices replaced the monitorial system and they were "a natural and widespread development and not simply created by Government as a result of Kay-Shuttleworth's campaign" (Aldrich 90:15). This route was recognised as a 'sensible' way in which to prepare teachers for the elementary school. Discourses which laid stress on a practical preparation sustained the pupil-teacher routes, but these were also very cheap. One certified teacher could cost as much as up to eight pupil teachers.

In 1856 the Committee of Council appointed a vice-president with the particular task of reporting to the House of Commons on public education. This had largely been inspired by the pressure for national economies because of the costs of the Crimean War. A royal commission, the Newcastle Commission, was set up to investigate how adequate but cheap elementary schools could be developed and was starting to ask questions about cost effectiveness and efficiency. The training colleges were very vulnerable. The costs of the pupil-teacher route had risen from £150,000 to £540,000 in six years, and colleges with good examination results were receiving over three quarters of their funding from parliamentary grants. In 1859 the Committee of Council cut the numbers of pupil -teachers that schools might have; it also announced that there were no more funds available for building programmes and its vice-president Robert Lowe imposed the infamous Revised Code in 1862.

The Revised Code abolished specific grants to schools and replaced these with block grants to the school managers. School managers now had to pay directly for any pupil -teachers out of their grant. The five -year apprenticeships were replaced by six-monthly renewable contracts with the result that the number of pupil teachers fell off significantly. At the same time, the emerging college provision was cut back. It was the men's colleges which were most damaged. Their numbers fell drastically and two colleges closed. The results were less harsh for the women's colleges. There were fewer occupations open to women so they were forced to trade off reduced salaries and harsher conditions against the assertion of their independence. (I return to the discourses of gender in teacher education later in the thesis - see chapters 3 and 7). However, the salary of these teachers was now determined by the amount of knowledge they were able to cram into their students' heads; 'payment by results' was the name of this infamous piece of policy.

The next major legislative change, the Elementary Education Act of 1870, had an important although indirect effect on the training of teachers. The Act did not specifically direct any of

the newly-established Boards of Education to produce teachers but in its wake there was an increased need for more teachers. The voluntary colleges expanded to meet the needs of a school population which doubled in only six years, but were still unable to meet the demand. The Committee of Council did what it could by restoring grants and permitting students to start teaching after only one year at college. It lowered the pass mark for the certificate and allowed the HMI to recommend serving teachers for certification without their having to sit the examination. Already teacher training was taken to be malleable in the light of economic and demographic necessity; the pattern of cuts, control and vulnerability was established almost at inception. In all this, the status of the teacher and of teacher educators was subject to the vicissitudes of political and economic expediency.

Between 1886 and 1888 the training colleges and the pupil -teacher system were investigated by a Royal Commission. So the case for overseeing, inspecting and controlling teacher education was established at an early point. The Cross Commission was acutely aware that the pupil-teacher system was not the most effective way in which to develop teachers but it had the virtue of being cheap and it was very well established. The Commission also reviewed the residential voluntary colleges. This had been urged by some of the school boards who were concerned that the colleges had reserved proportions of places for members of specific religious denominations. But there was a wider concern. It was argued that the colleges were unprogressive, out of touch with the needs of schools and over-concerned with examinations. They needed to be more practical and less 'ivory tower'. A now familiar discursive contestation over whether teaching was ultimately a practical or academic concern was being played out.

The Commission suggested that some experimentation be tried and that some day-colleges be established. The Government accepted this proposal and approved the setting- up of day training colleges by universities. One very important right was granted to students attending these new colleges. They could study for a degree instead of Part Two of the Teachers' Certificate if they wished. The universities and university colleges were enthusiastic about this venture as it brought with it the opportunity of regular supplies of students funded from the public purse. At this point another theme, which was to persist, emerged; parallel but different routes into teaching were introduced. The major differences were that one route would carry more status and would attract a higher salary than the other and the teachers were destined to work in different sectors of the educational system.

By the start of the twentieth century, the majority of teachers had come from the pupil-teacher route and only just over one-quarter were college trained. The cheap production of a 'good' teacher was satisfactorily in hand. The state had successfully intervened in the regulation and provision of teacher education. When social spending had to be cut, the state constructed alternative models and discourses of teacher education which were necessary for

the nation's education system (Dale 89). Teacher education was clearly recognised as a function of state provision but it had to compete with other elements of the state's activities for funding. Supply, demand and economics

While teacher training was becoming institutionalised in this haphazard and contradictory manner in the nineteenth century, the pressures of supply and demand were shaping the form that any provision took. This problem was to assert itself continually in the twentieth century with direct consequences for teacher preparation.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 had major consequences for the men's training colleges. By 1915 nearly half of all male students had joined the armed forces and in 1916 conscription was introduced. The Board of Education granted temporary recognition as certified teachers to students who had been conscripted provided they return to their college for a six month course once the war was over. Expediency, as ever, dictated that these measures were introduced. However, several of the voluntary colleges were forced to close whilst others were requisitioned. The situation was very different for women who were strongly urged to become teachers to meet the shortfall. At the end of the war there was a national enthusiasm for extended education for all. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, was able to rush through two Acts of Parliament which contained substantial reforms. National pay scales, the Burnham scales, were introduced for teachers and renewed efforts were put into recruitment.

Ironically, this was swiftly followed by a round of financial cuts where many of the gains that had been made were displaced by the needs of a national economy drive. Fisher was forced to demand that the training colleges were not to incur any new expenditure but in 1921 he discovered that some of them were intending to close unless they got better grants. Fisher was able to prevent this but there was a central problem; LEAs which maintained colleges had to pay all their costs while other LEAs indirectly got their teachers trained free. This was resolved in 1925 when it was agreed that all grants should be paid from the exchequer and raised from across all local authorities whether they maintained colleges or not. In 1922 the Government appointed a 'Business Men's Committee', the Geddes Committee, to recommend economies in social policy expenditure and which, in relation to education, proposed that children should not attend school until they were six, that class sizes should be increased and that teachers salaries should be reduced. This was a direct attempt to cut back on public spending for education at all points. One immediate consequence of this was that some teachers became unemployed.

The 1930s proved to be no better a decade for teacher education as a consequence of the international economic depression. In July 1929, the Government had announced its intention to raise the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen but this was quickly postponed. There were

allegations that the Board of Education was being over-extravagant and this resulted in a reduced intake in colleges, which meant that government grants could be cut back. The question of college closures arose in 1933 and in 1937. There was again a problem of teacher unemployment for newly qualified candidates.

Teacher education in the first part of the twentieth century was typified by the insertion of measures related to expediency - economic and political. Although the courses and programmes in the colleges had become more 'professional' by including aspects from related disciplines, in particular child development and the psychology of learning, any incremental gains were offset by massive structural interventions into teacher education. The provision was characterised by a chronic lack of continuity related to frequent state intervention.

The 1944 Education Act, as well as leading to the raising of the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen in 1947, introduced compulsory secondary schooling for all. But these reforms were again immediately beset by economic difficulties. There was the problem of a post-war 'bulge' in the birth rate which had to be considered along with the expansion of secondary provision. It was estimated that more than fifty thousand extra teachers would be needed. The colleges just could not respond to these demands and it was recognised that some short-term measures would be needed. The emergency training scheme was quickly introduced to provide intensive one-year courses with a two-year probationary period for men and women who had served in the forces or in the war industries. By 1948, nineteen new colleges had been established which almost doubled the local educational provision from twenty-one colleges in 1938 to forty.

The emergency scheme itself was closed down in 1951 having produced thirty-five thousand teachers. Although the scheme had been criticised by many who believed that a one-year course downgraded the professional status of teachers, it had effectively resolved an immediate supply problem and it was very cheap. But the system of teacher training itself was still far from satisfactory. The state had met the immediate post-war problems and now believed that a longer term policy was required to provide an efficient system of teacher training in England and Wales. This had been tackled by the Board of Education who in 1942 had set up a committee chaired by Sir Arthur McNair, the Vice Chancellor of Liverpool University. The committee's brief was to investigate the supply, recruitment and training of teachers. The McNair Report was published in 1944, three months before Butler's Act. It had come to the conclusion that in almost every respect the existing system was inadequate. Too few teachers were produced, the majority of colleges were too small, many were ill equipped and the two-year course was too short.

However, few suggestions from the report were put into practice and in the meantime the supply-and-demand balance shifted yet again. The fifties were characterised by major swings in the perceived need for teachers. By 1956, when many of the emergency colleges had achieved

permanent status, it was apparent that the birth rate had fallen and there was a limited need for new recruits to teaching. Inevitably some colleges would have to close. One method for avoiding this was the proposal that college courses should be extended from two to three years in length and this was put forward by the college lecturers' professional association, the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE). This had been one of the McNair proposals which had not been acted upon and it was now taken up by a government which could see an easy way of mopping up an oversupply of teachers and perhaps, as a side measure, making some improvement in the quality of teaching. For once, expediency coincided with professional development and the enhancement of the status of teachers.

From 1958 the birth rate shot up again and at the same time the post-war 'bulge' was approaching university and college entrance. This combined to produce a situation where there was a growing teacher shortage and not enough places in colleges or universities to meet the anticipated demands. The Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, appointed Lord Robbins with a brief to survey the scene and make practical suggestions which could accommodate the demographic shifts and bulges which had been wrong-footing all attempts at planned provision. At the start of the sixties, the intake to the training colleges expanded rapidly but this did not seem to be enough to meet the needs of the time and the immediate future. The demand seemed endless; the National Advisory Council on Training and Supply of Teachers (NACTST) in its report to Robbins in 1962 said that the need for primary teachers was so great that all institutions would have to get involved, from art colleges to technical colleges and colleges of commerce. There were other proposals from the teaching unions and in the educational press, that university departments of education be expanded, part-timers be employed or married women be given crash courses. These proposals generated strong criticism but were expedient responses to the problems of supply and demand.

The 'numbers game' was played fast and furiously throughout the sixties. In response to the 1962 NACTST report, the Government agreed to increase places in teacher training colleges by admitting 27,500 students in 1968-9. As there were only 16,993 certificate and 3,475 post graduates in training in 1962, this was a massive increase in proposed numbers. But still this did not satisfy the need. In 1963 NACTST called for the Robbins numbers to be taken on at an earlier date. By 1969 a massive total of 43,436 students were registered on teacher training courses, well above earlier figures suggested by both NACTST and the Government's own recommendations.

Because of this rapid and massive expansion, the balance of teacher education had moved from the voluntary colleges into the local education sector. In 1968, the local authorities were running 113 colleges, voluntary bodies now ran 53, polytechnics were running five departments of education and the British and Foreign School society now had only three colleges. The creation

of the binary system in 1965 gave a great boost to local authorities' power and influence in teacher training by placing responsibility for this provision clearly within the local state.

What sense can be made of this account of teacher education? Overall, the pincer-like movements of economic need coupled with demographic change have exacted a heavy price. A pattern has emerged; in times of financial difficulty teacher education is severely trimmed and teachers are made redundant. When school student numbers increase, college entry requirements are modified to take account of this, and various short term measures are employed to produce extra teachers because otherwise, children would have no teachers at all. And this pattern has been repeated in nearly every decade. This continuing pressure related to supply, demand and economic need has imposed an ever-changing set of requirements and constraints upon the institutions charged with the preparation of teachers (Aldrich 90:22).

Discursive issues

A central argument in this study is that themes and discourses have been sedimented over time within teacher education and these are picked up and utilised at specific points in order to facilitate state requirements. Teacher education, right from its origins, has been circumscribed by a variety of competing discourses and has been 'managed' through various inclusions and exclusions played up by appeals to 'value' and 'sense'. But all the while, contradictory elements of these discursive formations have continued to coexist although sometimes in a dormant form. For example, the discursive formations round what is taken as the 'good teacher' relate to and evoke a wide range of propositions which inform this construct; there are differences in different sectors of schooling; different philosophical, psychological, political as well as sociological interpretations. All these competing definitions have different and contradictory implications for teacher education courses.

The 'good' teacher - A conflicting discourse

By the end of the nineteenth century, in the attempt to produce a 'good' but cheap teacher, a range of competing discourses had already been established. There were different needs for teachers in different sectors. The elementary teacher of the working classes needed to be trained, the teachers of the middle classes did not. This meant that there were different routes into what was already a differentiated sector of the labour market. There was a highly differentiated and stratified conceptualisation of knowledge which was differently rewarded; the elementary schools were concerned with learning facts, obedience, passivity and the 'basics'; the secondary and grammar schools were concerned with developing classical scholars and autonomous individuals. This had specific outcomes in relation to the needs of the labour market. In relation to the training needed for the teachers of the working classes, moral codes, good Christian behaviour, a degree of humility and unquestioning devotion to the service of the

poor were needed. And this was essentially a practical business although some preparation was needed, as the earlier attempts at 'on the job' training had not been successful.

In the twentieth century these discourses were to persist but were to become coupled with other elements. Issues related to the content of teachers' courses continued but were managed in a different manner according to whom was to be taught. Although this is a somewhat artificial dichotomy, the teachers of the young child were exposed to particular discourses around childhood as well as developmental psychology; sociology would enter at a later stage. The secondary teacher would focus on the subject to be taught and might not experience any specific teacher training at all. Teachers as a whole, though, would struggle to throw off their humble origins and as their training intensified round particular bodies of knowledge, they would increasingly call for 'professional' status, one of the more insidious of the discourses invested in the job of teaching. For example, teachers would be constrained against taking political action in order to improve their working conditions or those of the students they taught by the invocation of what was understood as 'professional' behaviour. Teachers can be accused of being unprofessional when any of their actions threaten the status quo and they can also be accused of being unprofessional when they take no action at all. 'Professional' is a powerful discursive strategy which can be used to control as well as monitor the activities of teachers.

However, while the work of teachers became ever more clearly related to the principles of welfarism and the welfare state, debates about its nature and the locus of its control were fought out in private and in public arenas. The colleges were pitted against the very institutions they wished to emulate, the universities, and the universities were keen, for pragmatic economic reasons, to exert their patriarchal dominance over teacher education as a whole.

Academic or practical - a legitimisation crisis

A further persistent theme in teacher education has been related to whether teachers need an academic base or a professional base in their preparation. This had been played out in the nineteenth century discussions on whether student teachers should be reading for a degree at the same time as their certificate for teaching. Students were able to prepare for part one of a degree when they had completed a first year of teacher training and 'cram' for their teaching certificate at the end of the second year. This entailed a considerable amount of work and the majority of two-year students were unsuccessful, with a failure rate of seventy percent for men and fifty percent for women.

Morant, the Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, took a number of steps from 1902 to 1911 which made it increasingly difficult for student teachers to study for a degree and a teaching certificate at the same time. He was determined that teachers needed professional

and practical training and was alarmed about the consequences (for teaching), of college courses which, in an attempt to stress academic work, had mainly focused on rote learning. This attempt to prevent candidates for teaching from obtaining a degree was strongly contested by the newly formed National Union of Teachers and staff in the training colleges who believed passionately that the university degree was an important symbol. The degree supported the view of teaching as a profession and a learned profession. Indeed the equation of 'professionalism' with the call for 'an all-graduate' profession was to be one of the key markers of union activity in the twentieth century.

Although Morant was genuinely concerned that the perceived desirability of a degree had caused many prospective teachers to be failed and had resulted in many of them taking up posts without any qualification, he did permit some routes to be maintained into teaching with a degree and certificate concurrently awarded. But the intending students had to have gained passes in a wide range of subjects on the teachers' examination. Eventually in 1911 the Board of Education recognised training departments attached to universities which provided a four year course; three years of a first degree followed by a professional training year. Students would have grants and maintenance fees paid but had to pledge to teach in the maintained sector for a prescribed number of years.

For many years there had been a tendency in the training colleges to overload the academic side. It was this tendency that Morant and his colleagues at the board were determined to eliminate. That the four year course which was a product of their campaign led ultimately to the separation of secondary from elementary training was an unhappy consequence of an essentially sound strategy.

(Dent 77:70)

The tendency to stress the academic side at the expense of perhaps a more direct vocational input was to become a persistent and contested theme over time. It is easy to argue that in an attempt to legitimate and establish itself, teacher education looked to the universities as role models and copied what it thought it saw. However, the consequences of continually looking over their shoulders to mimic what was seen, and in this way maintain the authority and power of the universities, perhaps served in the long term to undermine the work of the colleges.

As a result of the expansion of secondary schooling at the start of the twentieth century, the Board of Education had to consider what it might do in order to provide enough teachers for this sector. In 1908 it published a set of regulations for the training of secondary teachers. These teachers were to be graduates or graduate-equivalents and would spend one year studying their special secondary school subject and working in a school for up to sixty days. This was not a

popular route and by 1914 the number of teachers prepared in this way averaged about two hundred a year, of whom about one hundred and sixty were women.

During the thirties, the contest between academic versus practical training was intensified. The Hadow report, with its emphasis on direct experience and its part in learning, had stimulated a growth in practical subjects in schools for the younger children. There was also a growing awareness of the work of Freud, Issacs, Froebel and Pestalozzi which led to a conviction that schooling should focus on children and that child development needed to be studied at the training college. To an extent this could be seen to resolve the practical/academic tension. Teacher education could legitimately focus on elements of developmental psychology as this 'intellectual' endeavour had a direct practical consequence for classroom teaching. Other aspects of psychology could be used to legitimate teaching studies as rigorous and academic; particularly theories of teaching and learning.

However, the introduction of developmental psychology and aspects of 'progressivism' into the training of teachers was clearly not undertaken in an attempt to liberalise or radically change society. The economic depression of the 1930s had underlined the need for a better-schooled workforce and labour market needs were moving beyond a purely industrialised phase. Parts of the workforce needed to be more flexible in the work setting. Advances in the human sciences seemed to be suggesting methods which could facilitate this labour requirement. At the same time, there was still the moral discourse left over from the nineteenth century which centred round the need to 'rescue' and 'save' children from the worst effects of their family circumstances and thereby maintain an orderly and cohesive society. The contradictions between the 'needs' of children according to perceptions about their 'natures' which derived from depth psychologists like Freud, and the 'needs' of society in terms of a more emancipated work force were shaping provision in an uneven but not unrelated manner.

These and other discourses were evident in the teacher courses of the period. Some colleges studied housing problems, town life and poverty. Others studied various brands of psychology from behaviourism to psychoanalysis. As Tibble states,

What was firmly established during the period between the World Wars was the central place of child study in the college education courses. The effect in the training world of this ferment of opposing schools of thought in psychology was to produce an atmosphere of uncertainty and confusion with regard to the content of the education course.

(Tibble 63:92)

Developmental psychology was to become a persistent and enduring theme in teacher education courses, particularly for elementary-primary school teachers. It provided one sure way in which to legitimate teacher education as a study of academic rigour, it meant that the new

teacher had some degree of 'expertise' which could buttress increasing calls for the recognition of teaching as a 'profession' and it provided a clear differential between teachers of 'children' and teachers of 'subjects', part of the discourse which surrounded and still surrounds the construct of the 'good' primary school teacher.

However, because of the knowledge of childhood and the 'needs' of childhood, it meant that the state could skilfully manipulate this discourse in order to redefine the job of the teacher, to redefine what the 'good' teacher looked like. 'Value' and 'sense' were once again played off against one another particularly in this respect. Martin Lawn (87:62) argues that one of the most important shifts that occurred in the post Second World War period was a changing perception of the nature of the job of teaching. There was a growing awareness that the elementary school was no longer "an agency for the neglected majority" but a central plank of the new welfare state. The teacher's role was clearly redefined in a more open, yet contradictory manner. Teachers were involved with school dinners, health care and the provision of milk. They were welfare workers as well as educators but there was a trade-off as they lost their mid day break and were not financially compensated for this.

A new definition of the teacher was created in which teaching time was expanded and controlled by the employer, yet the teacher felt herself to be valued and having a major role in the schools of a new educational system, indeed a valuable place in the reconstruction of a new society. Not until the welfare system was in the process of being dismantled and the ideology which sustained it eroded, did the definition of teachers work become fundamentally revised once again.

(Lawn 87:62-63)

Particularly with reference to the schooling of younger children, the state was able to exert pressure and maintain a discourse in which teaching was reconstructed as commitment and service to childhood. It was difficult to see where 'education' stopped and 'caring' took over; these themes were conveniently linked and resulted in very much poorer working conditions for primary teachers, as well as 'fixing' into popular consciousness an awareness of primary school teachers as workers who would give all their time to the children in their care. Elementary teaching was a form of service, a vocation, a commitment to a new more egalitarian society. What was needed was the 'right' sort of person with this vocation for teaching. This discourse of almost total commitment of time, energy and personal resources was to persist right into the eighties and was only partly eroded, in the schools if not the colleges, by the Pay and Conditions of Service Act (1987).

Control and the universities

One other major discursive and structural concern in teacher education has been related to the issue of control over course design and the complex role of the university in all this. Teacher

education was initially only intended for the elementary school teacher and was undertaken in normal colleges, training colleges and what eventually became colleges of education. During the twentieth century, more universities became interested in teacher education although this was still small-scale and related to the secondary sector. There was a predominant interest in the academic subject. At the same time, the colleges were looking to legitimate their work and some wanted to confer graduate status on their students. The university degree was seen as an important milestone in this process. As the universities became more interested in secondary teacher education, the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) was developed to complement the three year degree course (although this was not mandatory until 1974 for graduates who wanted to teach in the state sector). At the same time there was increased pressure from teachers, their unions and various public inquiries, to make teacher education more like a university course. It was argued that student teachers should be educated alongside their peers in the university sector. The underlying assumption was that the universities were of higher status, intellectually more rigorous and better placed to oversee some of the 'dubious' work of the colleges.

Colleges had been reorganised, after the 1944 McNair Report, into regional clusters under the guidance of their local university. These Area Training Organisations (ATOs) were responsible for validating courses and awarding qualifications. This relationship was characterised by a particular balance of power.

College acquiescence was a necessary condition of this relationship and the curious role-complementarity of female college principal and male professor of education ensured at the highest level that it remained so. The analogy between the ATOs in their heyday and the traditional face of the Catholic church might be worth pursuing; professor as bishop, principal as mother superior, each exercising ultimate control in his or her world but the former exercising ultimate control and the relative positions reinforced by sex-role inequalities.

(Alexander 84:120)

Most of the universities set up ATOs which were serviced by Institutes of Education based at the universities. But the university training provision remained in departments. By 1951 sixteen ATOs were working, covering all of England and Wales although three, Cambridge, Liverpool and Reading, had non-university leadership. Liverpool and Reading universities were to accept responsibility for heading their ATOs at a later date. The term ATO continued to be used in official documentation, but were more commonly referred to as Institutes of Education. In this manner a relationship was developed where the colleges were seen as the poor relation to be helped out from time to time by the paternal university.

Summary and conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that persistent elements of structural and discursive concern have dogged teacher education. There have been consistent tensions related to the definition of what a 'good' teacher would look like. Should the teacher be an educated person, a manager of children, a conduit for moral and social control? Or is the 'good' teacher a professional who utilises a specific expertise related to theories of learning and teaching in order to meet the needs of the children? These questions have been contested in a context of unrelenting changes related to the need for more or less teachers at certain times. As the supply and demand issue has been firmly seen as a responsibility of the state, so the insertion of state management has ensured an ongoing discontinuity of provision. 'Value' and 'sense' have been asserted in order to legitimate various policy shifts.

Very early on it was recognised that teacher education could not be a voluntary provision. Colleges were set up by the state to regulate the provision and type of teachers needed for the working classes. These training colleges which were later to become the Colleges of Education had to expand and contract at quite alarming rates during the twentieth century. While constantly adjusting to these external pressures, they were also engaged in attempts to assert their own agenda of personal growth for their students and a commitment to a form of child centredness. The next chapter traces the manner in which these concerns have continued to exercise constraints and pressures in the contemporary setting.

Chapter Two

Contemporary Themes

Teacher education has developed in response to a variety of pressures. For reasons related to the need for social control, morality, consensus and cohesion in society as well as the needs of labour in a changing industrial context, it was recognised that the teachers of the working classes needed to be trained and that this could be most effectively done in a separate specialist institution rather than 'on the job'. They needed to be 'good', although what that meant in practical terms was conceptualised differently at different times; they needed to be cheap; and they were needed in such numbers as to match the ups and downs of demographic shifts.

The teachers and the teacher training colleges, however, had agendas of their own. The teacher-educators wanted to be regarded as 'professional'; they were engaged in preparing a group of workers who were experiencing progressively longer courses intended to develop 'expertise' in the new teacher. The teacher-educators were pressing for parity of esteem with the university sector and for moves towards an all-graduate entry into teaching which would thus confer a further degree of 'professionalism'. But there were internal divisions and contradictions which had been laid down over time. The nineteenth century elementary school teacher had been exposed to particular discourses. She needed to be the 'right sort of person' concerned with children and their learning development and this was something of a vocation which shaped her whole life. The 'right sort' of person would be polite, passive and perhaps less likely to challenge the political status quo. The legacy of the 'meek and humble' elementary teacher reached across the decades to exert a continuity of influence on the college trained teacher. The discourse of social control was reformed and reconstituted so that primary teachers were encouraged to focus on children and childhood with a sense of 'mission', displacing many other issues which related to school teachers' structural and discursive conditions at work. 'Professional' in this discourse became more related to dispositions in relation to doing the job, rather than to any real autonomy in controlling working conditions and salary. In fact the disciplinary effects of 'professionalism' stressed a focus on the classroom and the child at the expense of any more socially critical perspective. It is important to note this here because many of the teachers who became college tutors in the 1980s and 1990s were exposed to this discursive formation in their own teacher education. This formation was part of the 'college culture' (although this was less the case for the graduate secondary teachers).

In this second chapter I will consider the historical developments in teacher education which have occurred from the 1960s up to the present time. The key factors identified here mirror the structural and discursive concerns of the first chapter. The same themes repeat themselves,

themes of rapid expansion and need for more teachers, paralleled by rapid and sometimes simultaneous cuts. This is achieved through the state's assertion of a new 'economic sense' in relation to public spending in the light of international recessions and crises. And this is managed through a variety of discursive strategies: the 'need' to make teacher education 'better', to reform a dubious provision which has failed the nation's interests and from which it is essential to extract maximum value for money. Teacher education, always a marginalised and a 'Cinderella' provision at the best of times, has been easy to attack and difficult to defend. The assertions of the old discourse of 'practical' in a new style, called 'relevance,' conveniently disguises 'cheapness' and so the old refrains persist, although the pace of change is intensified.

Locating the context for reform: economic and political concerns

By the 1960s the post-war hegemony of consensus and order was beginning to break down. The social democratic settlement was under attack, revealing its weak foundations. While the economy had been healthy and a technological revolution had been promising greater social and economic benefits, it had seemed possible to reduce and even eradicate poverty and the grosser aspects of inequality. With the economy now failing, other failures were recognised. All this is more fully explored elsewhere (Baron et al 81). Taylor believes that, with particular reference to teacher education,

Demographic and economic factors have been central to the changes that have taken place since 1970. Other influences have included a sapping of conviction that more and better education contributes to economic growth; a conservative trend in policies and social thought; the greater visibility that the comprehensive reorganisation of secondary education has given to the low educational attainments of a proportion of school leavers and of the adult population; the strengthening of secularism and instrumentalism in educational values, and the continued inability of Western societies to legitimise and sustain collective purposes other than personal accumulation and economic growth.

(Taylor 84:16)

The long term decline of British industry has been marked by moments of economic 'crisis'. The international economic crisis of the late sixties and early seventies was just one more manifestation of a continuing and accelerating process. In response, the state developed a range of strategies in its attempts to deal with the changing economic context. In part this has meant that the "economic crisis has come to be displaced into the State" and that "these crises in the State reverberate throughout its different parts, not least within educational policy" (Hargreaves 89:44). The economic crisis in the early seventies precipitated one set of responses; the economic context in the late seventies and early eighties provoked another more intense, discursive as well as structural, reaction.

The sixties was a time of massive expansion for education. This was particularly so in teacher education which had to respond to substantial demands for more teachers without much increase in funding. However, the sixties was also a period of uncertainty, where the status quo was being questioned and the 'secret garden' of education was starting to become invaded by new interested parties. The old accord between teachers, the unions and the educational state was breaking down (Ball 90). There were many areas of concern and conflict in teacher education itself; for example between the colleges and universities related to issues of course control. There was substantial disagreement about what content should inform the courses and it seemed almost impossible to get any degree of consensus. In fact what had occurred was a gradual evolution where more academic study had been tacked onto the older two year course; although the traditional pattern of main subject, a theoretical review of education with some practical work and school experience was maintained. But new teachers in schools were finding these courses inadequate (Browne 69). Teachers were finding it hard to relate some of what they had studied to the world of the classroom. Tutors working in colleges were also pressing for change; they argued, perhaps contradictorily, that some courses lacked academic rigour (Willey and Maddison 71). They were, and still are, concerned that teacher education address broader educational issues which extend beyond 'tips for teachers' or general coping strategies in the classroom.

But teacher education was also being challenged by a concerned public whose fears about education and concern for the future of their children were orchestrated by a powerful right wing lobby. The main result from all these various conflicts, claims and counterclaims was a general agreement about the need for an in-depth inquiry into teacher training. From desires to reform and improve, to democratise or to eradicate the excesses of egalitarianism and progressive discourses, depending on the political position of the group calling for reform, the consensus was that a major overhaul was needed. There were calls for a public enquiry into teacher education which were responded to in the 1970s by the Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher. The result of this enquiry was the James Report (1972).

Teacher education and state involvement in the seventies

It is worth considering the James Report in some depth because it is an important marker in the history of teacher education. It explored many of the major structural and discursive concerns which had persisted over time. It was not intended to be an emancipatory inquiry but had, as part of its agenda, the requirement to 'rationalise' teacher education. Hencke (78:39) believes that James' "sympathies lay entirely towards devising practical, professional training, rather than academic courses". James' view was that the higher education institutions "encouraged bogus academic thinking" and he made no secret of this to the directors of the ATOs. It was also clear that cuts would have to be made.

To put it bluntly, the supply of new teachers is now increasing so rapidly that it must soon catch up with any likely assessment of future demand and choices will have to be made very soon between various ways of using or diverting some of the resources at present invested in the education and training of teachers.

(James Report 72:75)

The James Report proposed a completely new pattern for teacher education. Its design was built around three cycles. The first was personal education, the second pre-service and induction, and the third was in-service education and training. In cycle one, students intending to teach a limited range of subjects would follow a three-year degree programme. Other student teachers would follow a two-year subject studies programme which would be award-bearing; the Diploma of Higher Education. This could be transferred to a three-year degree course or could lead to a teacher-preparation course. In this way intending teachers would study with other students.

In the second cycle, students would be based in an college or department of education engaged in

preparation for work appropriate to a teacher at the beginning of his [sic] career rather than on formal courses in 'educational theory'. To make such a statement is to invite the charge of philistinism of undervaluing the intellectual content of educational studies of depriving the young teacher of the conceptual framework within which he may integrate his learning and his experience. These objections have force and must be met here since the assertion that the second cycle training should be both specialised and functional is central to the position adopted in this report. The argument should be about balance and timing rather than about rigidly exclusive alternatives. It is not suggested that educational studies - that is the history, philosophy, psychology and sociology of education - should be banished from the second cycle curriculum but only that their role should be seen as contributory to effective teaching.... It must be doubted however, whether such studies especially if they are presented through the medium of lectures to large groups of perplexed students are, in terms of priorities, a useful major element in initial training.

(James Report 72:23)

This quotation is worth consideration. It highlights the dichotomy between theory and practice and effects a neat solution, where further reflection on practice after some experience is undertaken in the third cycle of in-service education. The important point is that these arguments are precisely those which dominate the critiques of teacher education courses in the 1990s. Another element of the contemporary debate was also sounded in the Report. James suggested that the second year of the second cycle be school-based but that in this year the students become 'licensed teachers' and be paid as staff members. They would work a four-day week and the remaining time would be spent at a 'professional centre'. This proposal has been borrowed and reshaped to meet current shortfalls in staffing.

James believed that the third cycle was crucial. Here teachers would be offered a range of courses designed to meet a wide variety of needs. For example, James believed that all intending teachers would have to consider the complexities of a multiracial society but that in-depth courses would also be required. There would also be a demand for specific advanced courses related to children with special educational needs. Some teachers might use this opportunity to obtain a BEd. Others could extend this by studying for a Masters Degree in Education. James discussed the place of management courses for heads and deputies, practical language courses, educational technology courses and also the need for institutions to be able to respond to new and as yet unrecognised challenges. Staffing ratios would have to be improved in order to facilitate release for these courses and, best of all, teachers would have to have sabbaticals built into their career structure at regular intervals. Cycle three was welcomed by everyone in the profession, featuring as it did, classroom release for teachers with full salary and extra work for college and university staff. The second cycle was highly unpopular in the colleges as it seemed to reduce teaching practice and looked as if it would reduce the power of the initial training institutions. The first cycle had a mixed reception.

Cuts and closures

The Government rejected the second cycle but accepted cycle one and three of the James Report in its White Paper of 1972, 'A framework for expansion'. It also suggested (in line with the Robbins Report of 1966 which sought to extend higher education) that some of the teacher training colleges might want to expand and become Colleges of Higher Education (CHEs) offering a wider range of courses. Some institutions might wish to merge with polytechnics. This was clarified by Circular 7/73 'Development of Higher Education in the non-university sector' where it was made clear that colleges had to fit into a more precise binary system of higher education. In reality the framework for expansion was a recipe for closure. However, the James Report was the first major attempt to contemplate radical rather than incremental change in the history of teacher education. McNair had altered some of the details, James was attempting a major revolution. But as it turned out, it was not the James Report that precipitated subsequent change in the 1970s.

The institutional structure, social process, the pedagogy, curriculum and modes of assessment employed to educate and train teachers all changed markedly during the 1970's. The most important cause was the downturn in births which had begun in the mid sixties. Its full implications for student numbers, for the training institutions and for their staffs, only became apparent when the economic difficulties of the early 1970's made it clear that existing initial training capacity simply could not be turned over to new tasks such as large scale expansion of induction and in-service work.

(Taylor 84:16)

The White Paper of 1972 effectively destroyed most of the proposals in the James Report. It is clear from reports at the time (Guardian 21.2.72) that the Secretary of State, Margaret Thatcher, was certainly going slow on implementing any of James' proposals. Indeed the DES outlined proposals to abandon the independent teacher education institutions suggested by James and, instead, merge the colleges in order to expand the polytechnic and further education sector. The DES also dropped the proposals for one national validating group and gave great encouragement to the CNAA which seemed interested in validating the colleges. There was interest expressed in the concept of a Teaching Council but the White Paper saw no role for teachers on the council and deferred the establishment of this group until consultations had taken place, always a useful holding procedure. 'In-service' was welcomed in theory but implementation in practice inevitably delayed. The restructuring of the ATOs which James had suggested was taken up, but instead of being replaced by some cohesive structure, new regional bodies were to oversee teacher education in the interim until consultations had taken place.

Perhaps the most devastating proposal in the White Paper, from the colleges' point of view, was the suggestion that the issue of teacher supply, the numbers game, be tightly articulated with the whole issue of higher education supply. NACTST was disbanded but, in one concession to the teaching world, a new committee, the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers (ACSTT) was set up. The White Paper effectively displaced the James Report through a clever series of recommendations that on first reading seemed to augur expansion. The paper set out a generous extension of numbers for the sector, allowing colleges and polytechnics between 60-70,000 places and setting aside 15,000 in-service places. The Paper stated that many institutions would have to make arrangements to "combine forces" in order to develop as strong institutions of higher education. But the Paper was concerned that certain cities were already well served in terms of places in universities and colleges and that it would be uneconomic to expand a third tier, the old teacher training colleges, in these areas. This threatened the majority of colleges who could foresee that their places would be transferred to the universities or polytechnics. The White Paper went on to argue that extra places would not be given to small isolated institutions which had not yet reached a "critical size" and would therefore find it difficult to provide a wider range of courses. So the colleges outside the conurbations were also under threat. The Paper gave some slim promises of hope. It stated that there was a related need for supplying places in relation to geographical considerations in order to provide access to higher education which would be within reach of the students. All this constitutes a classic example where the discourse of access has been reformed to result in closure. In fact the goal posts had been moved in such a way that there could be no possible logic or clear criteria underpinning any expansions or closures. The colleges which had pioneered teacher education were to be eroded as a separate sector in higher education.

The implementation of the White Paper was facilitated by circular 7/73 which asked LEAs to rationalise their higher education provision and to consult with governing bodies and the voluntary colleges in their area as to how this cut-back within diversification was to take place. From 1973 to 1975 the first bout of reorganisation was planned. There was considerable dismay and general opposition to the White Paper in the colleges. A Campaign for the Advancement of Teacher Education was hastily set up to co-ordinate protest, to lobby and to publicise the proposals. But this was set in a period of grave economic crisis. The three-day week, the power cuts, the threatened oil embargo coupled with an international recession all meant that the proposed changes in a "minor and in any case, little-regarded corner of the educational scene" (Taylor 84:24) were not able to excite public attention. Indeed, the teachers' industrial action of the period, which culminated in the pay awards of Houghton in 1975, was of more concern to the general public, students in colleges and serving teachers. It needs to be remembered that many had been critical of the colleges and had supported the James inquiry and there was little sympathy for the plight of the colleges even among those who were aware of it. Although some colleges mounted well co-ordinated campaigns, there was no attempt to organise collectively and it was obvious that particular institutions would only survive at the cost of others.

In April 1974, Reg Prentice, the Labour Secretary of State, reiterated the need for a reduction in the supply of teachers but was still quoting the White Paper statistics. By August 1974 it was clear to the DES that these figures were over optimistic. ACSTT had produced figures on the falling birth rate, teacher stock and flow which suggested that the 1981 requirements would not be for 510,000 but for 60,000 places. Up to thirty institutions would have to close. And before the end of 1975 it was clear that even these statistics were inaccurate and that more cuts would have to be made. What in fact occurred, through reorganisation and merger, was that the 157 colleges and seven polytechnic departments of teacher education were reduced to 126. Not one university department of education was affected.

What then is the importance of a report which was never implemented? In the James Report it is easy to trace direct continuities with the past, with the apprentice-style model and with a focus on the 'practical' elements of classroom teaching. Indirectly too, it joins a constant refrain which suggests that any major enquiry or attempt by the state at 'reform' seems to result in cuts and closures. Importantly for this study, the James Report was part of the lived experience of many college tutors who hold senior positions in teacher education. The James Report heralded a new age of diversified courses in colleges which had substantial effects on staffing needs; there was now a need for a more 'academic' staff profile in order to meet the requirements of validating bodies for the new BA and BSc degrees. But the cruel cuts which came in the train of James also left a legacy. Tutors who survived this period were made aware, far more keenly

than their colleagues who came later in the eighties, that teacher education was transitory. The only permanent state was change, the only permanent condition uncertainty.

The 'good' teacher and the 'professional' - towards regulation

While these massive structural changes were being put into place, many of the 'traditional' discourses surrounding teacher education were being contested and redefined by various interested parties. James had re-opened the debates around issues such as what were the basic needs of new teachers in schools and how should the 'good' teacher be prepared. Should there be an initial focus on practical matters which would seem relevant to these "perplexed" students who had been overburdened too soon by theory? The theory and practice debate was re-examined and one proposal was that an 'apprentice-style' year spent in school 'on the job' could get over some of these problems.

The teachers meanwhile were fighting for 'professional' recognition and improved salaries and conditions of service. Lacey argues that it is at this specific point that teachers themselves allowed a managerial and bureaucratic discourse to penetrate the way in which teaching was organised and paid. A divisive and hierarchical pay-scale was introduced in 1971 and was embellished by the Houghton Award in 1975. Lacey believes that in a period of decline, rigid hierarchical structures can be constraining. They present a view that some teachers can be paid at a different rate for a different job. Lacey argues that professions are typified by individual autonomy and this has gradually been eroded and replaced by bureaucratisation in teaching. The move towards a differentially constructed salary scale in the seventies allowed the insertion of a new discourse of bureaucracy which undermined the professional status of teachers.

We can only note that during the sixties and seventies teachers, through their unions, actively participated in the development of a hierarchical career structure that was already recognised in the current sociological literature as being opposed to the development of professional work styles. At the same time teachers were actively campaigning for recognition as a profession and for professional status. The contradictions in this position are now obvious.

(Lacey 85:66)

Attempts were also being made to slide 'professional' and 'good' together for different sorts of purposes. The teachers and their unions saw this as a way forward for their purposes of raising esteem, raising salaries and raising the profile of teaching. This collision of 'professional' and 'good' was to be recognised in the different salary levels for various posts and promotions. However, this meant that the local educational state and its bureaucracy would have more powers of intervention and control over the work of teachers. 'Professional' had an opposing discourse too; 'unprofessional' could be equated with 'ineffective' and potentially open teachers up to greater surveillance and control.

In the job of teaching there was a gradual shift from a position where teachers were in a situation of "licensed autonomy" to one where they were being ever more tightly controlled and subjected to a form of "regulated autonomy" (Dale 89:133). Licensed autonomy meant that teachers could exercise some degree of 'professional autonomy' so long as they stayed within the boundaries of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, the accepted concerns of teachers. So for many teachers 'professionalism' was related to teaching matters and this was 'permitted' by the educational state just so long as this autonomy was exercised in a conservative and not in a radical form (Grace 87:214). But a shift into what Dale has called "regulated autonomy" meant that more direct and indirect controls were being exerted over teachers and teaching. As Dale adds, "the move to regulated autonomy is not confined in its effects to teachers" (Dale 89:133). This shift was also to occur in the 1980s in teacher education, in course development and design as delineated by the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE).

Supply and demand - cuts and closures in the colleges

In the mid 1970s teachers were involved in a variety of actions designed to improve their pay and conditions and highlighting the lack of resources in schools, but other structural and material factors were dominating events. At this time when the country was in a state of social and economic unrest, a Labour Government was elected. Previously, Roy Hattersley, shadow speaker for education, had pledged a no-cuts programme for the colleges. However, once in power, Labour followed the same course as the previous government and when challenged on closure, argued that they were merely accepting reorganisational schemes put to them by the local authorities. Another example of shifting discourses and displacements occurring where political expediency dictated.

By 1976 the situation for teachers and teaching had worsened. Large reductions in public expenditure were being advocated and the birth rate was still falling. Changes in the rate support grant made it difficult in parts of the country to extend the teaching force and newly qualified teachers were experiencing difficulties in obtaining permanent posts or any post at all in some regions. In response to the earlier cut-backs, most of the obvious college mergers and reorganisations had taken place and there was little slack in the system. Neither was there a lot of time. A new procedure called a 'minimum system' was designed in order to allow for a flexible approach to rising or falling birth rates so that major upheavals could be avoided in the future. The system involved an announcement of government proposals, time for appeal and then a quick decision period. By November ACSTT had accepted that this minimum system would have to come on-line and that in the institutions, which had mainly diversified into degree work as well as teacher education, expansion would be easier to accommodate if required at any point. Numbers could be shifted across from teacher education to other degree courses thus maintaining institutional viability. In January 1977 a list of further proposed closures was

published; some were reprieved but a final list was drawn up by June of the same year, very fast work indeed. As Hencke says, these closures were tackled in a spirit of an administrative issue rather than as an academic and political decision. As a consequence of the cuts of 1977 what resulted was another reorganisation; some polytechnics were expanded at the expense of local colleges while others lost their teacher education places. Some of the more innovative colleges, such as Doncaster Metropolitan Institute of Higher Education, lost their teacher education places and some massive mergers took place. The final result was that seventy-three institutions in England and seven in Wales remained and many of these were fortunate to have survived.

All the institutions concerned in this reorganisation devised various strategies in order to survive. Some colleges decided to merge and in some areas had a choice of a polytechnic or university department. Other institutions, nearly forty in all, were closed despite all their efforts. Others became Colleges of Higher Education by merging or offering new courses and a minority were highly innovative and linked with the further education sector to become Community Colleges. What is certain is that for the tutors working in the colleges at this time pragmatism must have seemed the only useful 'stance' to adopt. That, and a certain degree of cynicism. If institutions were being closed in what appeared to be a random manner, what could be the point in developing logical or rational plans for the future? Whatever decisions were made and whatever the final outcome was in each instance, it is certain that for the people concerned in all the institutions this was an extremely complex and painful time. But even at this difficult period Shirley Williams, the Secretary of State for Education, was hinting that these cuts, savage though they were, might not be enough.

The legacy of the seventies

By the end of the decade there had been major changes in teacher education. The colleges had been absorbed into the binary system. Intending students had to have two 'A' levels, the basic qualification for university entrance. The scale of teacher education had been severely reduced and an all-graduate profession seemed to be in train with the growth and spread of the Bachelor of Education degree (BEd). The Certificate of Education (Cert. Ed.) was on the way out. A conservative trend towards academic study had weakened the traditional 'culture' of colleges and an industrial model informed courses which were starting to stress instrumental rather than professional constructs of teaching. Another development in the seventies, which had occurred as a direct result of the move from the Cert. Ed. towards the BEd, was that a staffing problem occurred in the colleges. A tension occurred where validating universities required that degree courses be taught by tutors who were academically well-qualified. Younger, differently qualified individuals were appointed. This inevitably caused divisions in some colleges and these divisions were to be a recurring problem in the eighties.

In any attempt to sum up the events of the seventies in respect of teacher education, it is very difficult not to agree with Hencke (78:128) who considered that this period was “a story of missed opportunities, shabby compromises, failed policies, and a trail of chaos throughout the public higher education system”. It could also be seen as a period where increasingly the contradictory discourses which were embedded in teacher education, such as theory and practice, were all contributing to tensions which could not be reduced to a simplistic resolution. At the same time a ferocious numbers game was being played in the non university sector. And this was to continue into the eighties.

The post-graduate route, the PGCE, located in universities had been in existence for the whole of the century but was a very small-scale concern. This radically changed in the seventies. The PGCE traditionally had prepared teachers who worked in grammar schools or the fee-paying sector and who were more concerned with their subject than pedagogy. The PGCE was not mandatory. But by 1969, all graduates going into primary schools had to be trained and, by 1973, with the exception of some shortage subjects, the same was true of secondary teachers in the maintained sector. So the PGCE route expanded. By 1980, the DES statistics showed that the PGCE was the main route overall into teaching although the BEd was still the dominant route into primary school teaching. The DES statistics revealed in 1981 that of all probationers in that year, 15 per cent of PGCE trainees were working in primary schools while the overwhelming majority were employed in the secondary sector. So the PGCE had broadened its brief and was now preparing teachers for a variety of teaching situations. Until the late seventies and early eighties very little research was done on this route. Alexander (84:120) believes this was the case because the universities controlled and dominated the literature surrounding teacher education.

They defined what counted as valid frames of critical discourse in respect of such knowledge and what constituted the major ‘problems’ in initial teacher education. Their own contribution to initial teacher education tended not to feature in the analysis.

The PGCE route then was well established but its content (with one or two notable exceptions) was essentially a blend of ‘method’ work, how to teach the main subject studied for first degree, a quick race through aspects of educational studies, a bit of developmental psychology, all built round periods of school experience.

Changing courses: changing philosophies

The curriculum on offer in the various teacher education institutes in the late seventies and early eighties was shaped by various workings through of the sorts of dilemmas and tensions which have already been highlighted. The debates which had been well laid down in teacher education continued to be rehearsed. Debates around dilemmas such as whether the main

subject was for personal development or for professional purposes were important in the shaping of the BEd. In some institutions, school experience, curriculum studies and education studies were integrated to become a 'professional' arena related to classroom matters and thus of less value in terms of 'counting' towards a degree. In other more innovative institutions, school-based courses which focused on the professional needs of a teacher were stressed but this was within a frame where theoretical implications were also closely related to the practice of teaching. Most degree courses tended to devalue pedagogical, professional and practical work in terms of degree weighting although for many student teachers, the professional studies courses seemed the most relevant to their immediate needs. It was difficult for some students as well as teacher-educators to see the value of a main subject which was to focus on the development of the 'educated person' but which displaced time which was needed to focus on practical classroom aspects which were in danger of being crowded out.

However, this particular debate about the need for professional studies was itself displaced by various pronouncements from HMI and the DES. In 1979 and again in 1981 the DES expressed concern about alleged 'weak' subject work in secondary schools. In 1978 the HMI national survey had criticised primary curriculum work as narrow in range.

While by the early 1980s trends pointed to a reconceptualisation of the teaching subject associated with a weakening of the academic/professional polarity, a third factor, more overtly political, pointed towards the latter's preservation. This stemmed from concern about alleged weakness in subject teaching, notably in mathematics and science, the solution to which lay not, as educationalists would tend to argue, in [a] kind of psychological/pedagogical/epistemological synthesis but in subject knowledge pure and simple.

(Alexander 84:132)

What had happened in many institutions is that the word 'professional' had covered up as much as it revealed. For some degrees it meant the whole course; others used it to refer to everything other than the main subject; while a third version of professional studies was that it was only to do with the teaching of the main subject. The content of education studies also moved on in the seventies. In a search for academic rigour in order to match the requirements of the new validators, education was frequently conceptualised as four elements; history, psychology, philosophy and sociology. Briefly, the history of education continued in a descriptive narrative and chronological manner as 'acts and facts' rather than critical historiography. Psychology tended to focus on Piagetian developmental theory with some consideration of aspects of behaviourist learning theory. Philosophy and sociology were the growth points. Philosophy moved from being concerned with 'great educational thinkers' like Rousseau and Froebel into a more critical stance and frame of conceptual analysis dominated by people like Peters, Hirst and Dearden at the London Institute of Education. Sociological developments were led by people from the same institute. The contributors to the collection

"Knowledge and Control" effected a major shift away from a focus on lifestyle, homes and communities onto an examination of knowledge and the school curriculum (Young et al 71). Educational studies also broadened out from these four influential disciplines to include curriculum studies.

The PGCE had a different agenda, as time was the critical factor in course design. For intending secondary teachers this meant a focus on the teaching of their chosen subject, for the primary students it involved a chase through a wide range of curriculum material. In addition, cross curricular issues of communication and the needs of a diverse society had to be examined. Another dimension was that of classroom pedagogy; questioning skills, mixed ability teaching; and a range of strategies like micro-teaching, role play and increasingly appraisal and evaluation, all had to be accommodated. Obviously the issues involved in course design were more acute for primary school teaching. Alexander (84:139) strongly believes that primary teacher education has to a large degree, been shaped by a commitment to

the fulfilment of an ideological mission in which alternatives were heresy....because critical reflexivity was simply not a feature of their intellectual vocabulary or of that of the profession from which they had been recruited.

The focus was on the 'whole child' and 'its' growth, where the child was frequently seen as a genderless, classless and raceless object for reification. So, Alexander argues, courses started with Piagetian child development, moved on to experience with children, then introduced courses on literacy and numeracy, followed by topic work and creativity and finally sometimes, into a form of critical exploration of the primary sector. This perspective informed both the BEd and the PGCE routes.

Bell (81) has outlined a framework for analysing teacher education courses which recognises three broad stages in development, loosely correlating to the moves from the two-year to four-year pattern. These stages match shifts in institutional nomenclature from the 'teacher training colleges' through 'colleges of education' to 'institutes and colleges of higher education'. What Bell has also done is indicated some correlation between these and Weber's (48) ideal types of education; charismatic education, the educated person and the 'specialized expert training' (See Fig. 1). Furlong et al (88) have argued that increasingly teacher education has developed to correspond more closely with this last model of 'specialized expert training'.

Although Bell's work is only related to the development of a model for conceptualising change in teacher education, and there will be differences of emphasis and overlaps in reality (Naish 90), nevertheless it is possible to identify a shift from licensed autonomy to one of regulated autonomy in teacher education courses (Dale 89). The two earlier stages were characteristic of a discourse of liberal humanism where education per se was privileged in a

COURSE	LOCATION	CHARACTERISTICS	CORRESPONDENCE WITH WEBER (1948)
TWO YEARS TEACHERS' CERTIFICATE (1950S)	TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -concern to promote 'the good teacher' -creation of a moral community -training achieved by process of socialization -emphasis on experimental knowledge -powerful personal loyalties between students and lecturers - 'person centred' - 'master/apprenticeship' relations emerged 	'charismatic education'
THREE YEAR TEACHERS' CERTIFICATE AND EARLY BEDS (FROM EARLY 1960'S)	COLLEGES OF EDUCATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -differentiation curriculum -strong boundaries between:- 1. education theory (internally divided into disciplines) 11. professional courses in 'methods' of teaching 111. main subjects - the 'academic' disciplines -rigorous main subject study throughout the course justified as important to the personal education of the student - 'education' emphasised rather than 'training' -status of 'methods' work lower than that of other elements of the course -courses specialised and academically rigorous 	'education of the cultivated man or woman'
REVISED BED TAUGHT AS ONE OF SEVERAL DEGREE COURSES (1970S)	INSTITUTES OF HIGHER EDUCATION, POLY-TECHNICS, UNIVERSITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rationalisation of teacher training -growth in status of 'methods' courses -change in role of main subject away from academic discipline towards what is necessary to inform a teacher's classroom performance -change in function of education theory towards seeking explicit links between theory and practice -courses to be 'unashamedly specialised and functional' (James Report 1972) -greater concern with professionalism i.e. an 'effectively neutral, trained expertise' (Bell, 81). 	'specialized expert training'

Figure 1 Changing courses, changing philosophies
(Based on Bell, 1981 and commentary in Furlong et al, 1988) From Naish (90:28 and 29).

particular manner and practical work was less important. Knowledge of subjects was legitimated for its own sake and was certainly higher in status than classroom based work.

The third phase was very different and marked a return to the classroom in a more bureaucratic and managerial manner. Bell's model does present a useful overview although it is fair to say that many courses would overlap the strict boundaries this framework suggests. The third stage of this model will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. It is this formation which is being rearticulated by the educational state in a manner which resembles an attempt at regulated autonomy. But the important point being made here is that structural and discursive shifts did and do have material outcomes in relation to teacher education courses, and these are contested.

What is also important to note is the shift in the role of the main subject element of the degree. Initially this had been seen as related to the intellectual development of the teacher as a learned person. But the pressure from the DES to reconceptualise subject study in the light of their school-based investigations, firstly in the secondary sector and then in the primary, has resulted in a model which has attempted to displace any form of 'child-centred/individual needs' model with a 'subject study as professional' model, a form of 'specialised expert training'. The pressure for this change, apparently emanating from the DES through its various publications, inquiries and White Papers, was being generated from particular and specific sources.

Neo-Liberalism

1979 saw the election of a Conservative Government headed by Margaret Thatcher which stated its intention to roll back the state, free up the market and give greater choice to the consumer. These commitments were to inform all aspects of state provision. What Thatcher's Government was able to do was to skilfully manipulate a range of structural and discursive elements in order to effect a range of changes in British society. The economic problems which had been a constant feature of the seventies were constantly evoked to create a panic and to justify any developments and cuts in welfare provision. 'Sense' and 'value' were constantly set against one another in order to manage these changes.

Specifically in relation to education, the popular fears and anxieties across society had been fixed on the policies of the sixties through well orchestrated radical right pressure groups and influential tabloids. The clear analysis in *"Unpopular Education"* of two years' publication of the Daily Mail and Daily Mirror demonstrate how this was done (Baron et al. 81). Generally, it is possible to see a tremendous attack on schooling; incompetent teaching, undisciplined children, falling standards. This was amplified by pressure groups within the employers' sector where it was alleged that literacy and numeracy skills were in a decline and teachers

who were not accountable to the community were inculcating anti-industrial perspectives in school. Well known but atypical cases like William Tyndale were used to 'firm up' this discourse of derision (Ball 90). Politicians of all persuasions were sensitive to this discursive onslaught and saw the need for action. In 1976 the Labour Prime Minister Callaghan had carefully staged a media event, 'The Great Debate' at Ruskin College, resulting in a Green Paper which effectively set the seal on state provision for the future. Egalitarianism was to be displaced by economic efficiency. Schools needed to raise standards, expectations and attainment and be more accountable to the public. This was to be the inheritance of Margaret Thatcher. In common with Davies (1986), I believe that the Thatcher Government initially "invented very little in respect of current educational policy". What it did do was to stress aspects in order to reward "the fractions of capital and class from which it expects support" (Davies 86:349). This was in part achieved through the construction of specific discursive formations as well as through structural and material changes in the educational system.

Thatcher inherited an anti-egalitarian perspective which had been disseminated across the media. Within this, it made sense that some children were more clever than others and needed special provision, and this matched the commonsense perceptions of many parents who had been excluded from active participation in educational policy formation in the sixties. In the sixties, reports like Plowden and Newsom had effectively pathologised black and working class communities in terms of their alleged underachievement. But these communities 'knew' that more emphasis on literacy and numeracy would increase social mobility. This had always been so. They also 'knew' that teachers were different now. Their own more traditional teachers had been drawn from the cohorts of the emergency-trained. The new teachers of the late sixties and seventies had studied sociology (at some sort of level) and were to some degree aware of, and perhaps influenced by, aspects of the cultural and political experiences of this period. The 'permissive' sixties had influenced every area of public life and teachers were no exception to this. Although there are well-documented studies of attempts to involve parents more in the day-to-day running of the school and certainly, in many schools, relationships between staff and parents became more informal and friendly, this was not enough. Parents wanted a bigger say in how their children's schools were run. They were frightened that their children would be unemployed. Certification was crucial. Thatcher was able to draw upon all this.

The Thatcher Government promised not merely reforms but wholesale shifts in the conceptualisation of state provision. In education these promises were realised in the Reform Act of 1988. It was obvious in this reconceptualisation that if schools were to be improved then the teachers would have to be improved too. So, it would be essential to restructure teacher education courses. Within the new framework of criticism and derision, these courses were seen as too theoretical and unrelated to the real world of the classroom. Some practising teachers

were only too ready to concur. This point was reinforced by the publication in 1979 by the DES of 'Developments in the BEd Degree course - A study based on fifteen institutions'. The issue of alleged subject weakness was to assume a central role.

A whole spate of DES publications was generated; 'Aspects of secondary education' in 1979, 'The PGCE in the public sector' in 1980, 'Teacher training in the secondary sector' in 1981, a survey of admission requirements in 1982, and in the same year the important survey of 'The new teacher in school'. In 1983 'The Content of Initial Training' was published, closely followed by the White Paper on Teaching Quality. (This important paper has been successfully and comprehensively critiqued in *"The Quality Controllers"* 85). The White Paper focused on a utilitarian and instrumental view of the teacher as transmitter of aspects of a subject according to the age and aptitude of the learner. Personal qualities were seen as important but so was the subject knowledge. The quality of teachers, many of whom "showed signs of insecurity in the subject being taught" was to be improved through a range of strategies. The White Paper suggested that quality be controlled by tighter selection methods. Teacher training courses (and the document used 'training' rather than 'education' throughout) needed to be overseen by professional committees. It was suggested that a national accreditation committee be set up to approve courses according to a set of criteria related to task/training match and school experience. It was also suggested that those employed in teacher training establishments needed to gain recent and relevant experience of schools and that more account needed to be taken of school based training. Finally it was suggested that the DES be responsible for the inspection of teacher training institutions.

The next step was the publication of Circular 3/84. All Teacher Training courses were to be scrutinised by the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) after their initial validation based on HMI reports. The BEd primary courses had to have two of the four years devoted to the main subject; the remaining time would have to allocate 100 hours to maths and 100 hours to language. School experience, curriculum work, pedagogy, other areas of the curriculum would all have to be fitted in. The same requirements of 100 hours each of maths and language applied to the primary PGCE which only lasted for thirty- six weeks and, with a minimum requirement of fifteen weeks in schools, this severely constrained course design. In the secondary sector, a need to focus on the subject was underlined and this too was to take up half of the total time, although up to twenty five per cent of this two- year period had to focus on the pedagogical implications of the subject (as was also the case for the primary degree). A move towards a form of 'specialised expert training' is evident in all this. Teaching and the 'good teacher' were to be ever more tightly related to the role of the main subject as part of the pedagogical repertoire in the classroom (See Fig. 1).

CATE also demanded that the staff in teacher education institutions have 'recent, relevant and substantial teaching experience'. It was suggested that, at the very least, one term in every five years should be spent in school away from the institution. This too caused panic across the sector. In order to clarify these requirements, up-dates or CATE notes were issued at regular intervals. Pressure groups were formed to fight these criteria, notably the Undergraduate Professional Teacher Education Conference (UPTEC) which focused on the criteria of two years subject study for primary teachers. Again, the argument was that primary teachers needed to focus on wider aspects; they taught children not subjects. However, there was no going back and one by one, every institution had to submit to the CATE criteria, on paper at least.

While all this was going on, the problem which had beset schools and teachers all through the fifties, sixties and seventies re-emerged. Yet again the numbers were wrong; supply and demand were not well matched. The mini baby-boom in the late seventies was by now demanding more teachers in primary schools. Debates on the numbers of teachers leaving the profession, the numbers in the PIT (pool of inactive teachers), the mis-match between the subject requirements of the National Curriculum and the needs of inner cities were all well-rehearsed. The Ministers denied a shortfall, admitted some shortfall, and blamed individual authorities. Eventually the DES issued some proposals in order to resolve the situation in a Green Paper (1988). There were many people who would make marvellous teachers who could take up a post straight away and offer a lot to youngsters. These people were to be admitted to the teaching profession and trained 'on the job' - licensed and articulated teachers.

Alongside and complementary to these sorts of proposals for new routes into teaching were the well publicised New Right attacks on teacher education. It is impossible to do justice here to the range of these attacks but it was argued that education was frequently more concerned with indoctrination (Scruton 85, 85a) than proper education and that many of the courses were too preoccupied with Marxist analysis rather than effective teaching. Students were having to follow courses in anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies, it was said, and were supposed to get themselves involved in social engineering and the destruction of western capitalism (O'Hear 88). The courses were accused of being anti-industrial and it was argued that CATE should press for a full appreciation of the contribution made by the creation of wealth to the good of the nation. A new discourse was being asserted.

A good teacher will be someone who knows and loves his [sic] subject and wants to communicate it to others and who has the emotional maturity to do it successfully. How can we make someone a good teacher? We cannot make a good teacher, because even if we knew exactly and explicitly what the skills of a good teacher were, we would not know how to impart them. In particular we do not know how to impart emotional maturity. Nevertheless we can give someone a good grounding for being a good teacher by giving him a good knowledge and



the guidance and supervision of experienced and proven teachers in his early teaching years.

(O'Hear 88:19)

The Conservative project in education

In recent years, in conjunction with the changing political and economic context, various themes have emerged in relation to teacher education. These themes are concerned with strong debates and attempts to re-articulate what it is to be a teacher in relation to particular impulses of capital. This is clearly signalled in various policy shifts; the deregulation of points of entry, the 'disciplining' of institutions through tightly constrained funding 'initiatives' and the insertion of specific elements into all of the 'traditional' routes into teaching. The Conservative Governments have increasingly attempted to deal with the contemporary economic decline in a particular manner steadily appropriating a particular discourse which now underpins social and economic policy in Britain. This discourse, a neo-liberal laissez-faire economics of "market competition based on total economic individualism" (Ball 90b:3), privileges consumer choice in a setting where the minimalist state need only accept responsibility for safeguarding property rights. However, the paradox in contemporary Conservatism is that a counterpoint to the theme of unfettered individualism, promoted by the withdrawal of the state, is the view that the market in itself cannot be trusted to 'modernise' and regulate the system in the necessary manner. What is also required is a strong centralising state. The consequences of this tension can be identified in the various centralising policies that have emerged across the years of Conservative rule (Jones 89).

In the educational field, the Conservative Government has appropriated certain long-standing debates in educational policy and has articulated these through specific discursive formations. "The locale of this new discourse is.... in business and commerce" (Ball 87:7). Consequently schools and teachers are seen to be anti-industry and convey this to the children in their care. Furthermore these children are not considered to be appropriately prepared for the world of work; schools do not foster an entrepreneurial spirit. This has been linked to other discourses; 'standards have fallen', 'equality erodes quality'; and the critique then moves on to imply that what is now essential is a complete overhaul of the school system to allow this country to become economically competitive. By an interesting sleight of hand, the schools are made directly responsible for the economic 'crisis' and thus, by logical necessity, teachers and the curriculum come to be seen as in need of radical reform.

The neo-liberal response has been to argue for complete commodification of schooling. Parents become consumers and choice is all important. In this respect the local management of schools intersects with themes of opting out, CTCs and grant-maintained schools, in an energetic attempt to apply market forces to schooling. A traditional strand within this discursive

formation argues for a version of knowledge which replicates the grammar school curriculum, a specific version of a 'high culture' curriculum. Set against this is the project of the 'modernizers' who search for technological and scientific input, a transformation from irrelevant learning into an 'enterprise culture' of experiential vocationally-oriented learning/training. In this context the discourse of 'relevance' becomes highly significant. Overall, the effects have been such that it has become possible to argue that teachers have failed. Teachers have focused on issues of inequality, they have not stimulated 'gifted' children, they have not nurtured positive attitudes towards industry. In some cases they have not even kept control. They have not fulfilled their basic role evidenced by problematic literacy and numeracy rates and they have lost the trust and confidence of parents. It is an easy step to argue that the education of these teachers, their initial preparation for the classroom must have been less than adequate. Thus teacher education too needs reforming.

However, this critique is set within a contradictory frame where many opposing and fundamentally antagonistic demands are being pressed onto teacher education (See Fig. 2). It is argued that emergent teachers need 'modernising' - they need 'hands-on' experience with technology, they need industrial dimensions in their courses if they are to successfully meet the challenges of the next century. At the same time, it is argued that student teachers need to spend more time on a coherent traditional subject in their time in college, related, since 1988, to the National Curriculum. One perspective on offer suggests that an induction into a subject is all that is needed; love of children and some practical classroom experience will accomplish the rest. A further dimension to this position is that teaching is essentially a practical skill best picked up on the job. Set within a discourse which promotes the withdrawal of the state it is hardly surprising that all of this must be achieved in the most cost effective manner possible.

CONTRADICTIONARY THEMES IN THE CALLS FOR REFORM OF TEACHER EDUCATION		
modernising	set against	traditional views of knowledge
theoretical knowledge	set against	practical experience
professional judgements	set against	market forces
professional judgement of needs	set against	cost effectiveness

Figure 2 Contradicting Themes

This critique is based round a whole set of contradictions and tensions through which teacher education has to find its way to establish a position. This creates an impossible situation.

In terms of teacher education policy then, these contradictory themes and critiques have emerged in the arguments for the deregulation of statutory teacher education; licensing and apprenticing were intended to free up access and facilitate 'on the job' practical classroom learning. Alongside this was set a tightening up and a supervision of those courses still based in institutions through the mechanisms of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education.

With great foresight Jean Rudduck pointed out that

If there is any unifying perspective in the CATE criteria it is that of teaching as a craft which can best be picked up through attachment to practitioners. Such a view may contain some powerful messages about the future location of training.

(Rudduck 89:188)

The licensing and apprenticing routes were formed through and round particular discursive formations (Hill 89:17). The various arguments for these courses were carefully managed to present as 'commonsense' a seductively easy and cheap method of covering teacher vacancies, while utilising a common complaint in teacher education that practical matters were not always fully addressed and that more time was needed in school. However, as with all discursive formations, this was achieved via omissions and particular slippages. What was actually being attempted was a form of de-theorising teacher education, privileging the practical over the critical and through this method, deskilling teachers.

Summary and conclusions

William Taylor (84:16) has stated that "demographic and economic factors have been central to the changes that have taken place" in teacher education. The international economic crisis of the late sixties and seventies had material consequences for teacher education and the current recession is influencing educational provision. Set against and interplaying with this economic factor is the need to match the number of teachers against the number of children entering the school system. Wragg believes that this rapidly changing demographic context has led to major problems for contemporary teacher education and forebodes further problems ahead.

The consequence is that the over-supply of teachers which characterised the late 1970s and early 1980s and which led to the closure of more than a hundred colleges of education has given way to a rise in demand which cannot, on present predictions, be met by conventional means. In the late 1980s we have been training some 11,000 new teachers each year. This is in sharp contrast with the 20,000 recruits which will be required in the mid 1990s. At present about one in every twelve graduates is recruited to teaching. With the falling

populations of 18-22 year olds this would need to be one in five or even one in four by the mid-1990s.

(Wragg 90:27)

In England and Wales we face some very real dilemmas. Issues of supply and demand set against costs, efficiency and the need to monitor and maintain quality of provision dominate the debate. Yet the context in which these debates are taking place is characterised by complexity and different traditions. Teacher education has been shaped by the persistence of various routes into the profession. The majority of teachers in primary schools have qualified through a four-year Bachelor of Education route although an increasing minority are qualifying to teach by following a Post Graduate Certificate Course. In the secondary schools the PGCE is now the dominant route; teachers with a BEd mainly teach Physical Education, Home Economics or Craft Design and Technology courses (DES Report 87). Up until very recent times the various institutions who were concerned with these 'traditional' routes had some degree of autonomy in determining how these different courses were designed and taught. Many of the long established institutions valued their independence and the unique contribution which they made to teacher education. Independence and autonomy were jealously guarded in this sector.

However, with the need to produce new teachers cheaply and quickly, a spate of new initiatives have been introduced. Effectively what has happened is that these new courses seem to be set in contradiction to the traditional courses. The traditional routes are constructed on the basis of the need for greater professionalism and a better educated teaching force and are seeking to develop professional and critically reflective teachers. Contrasted with this, the new routes, led by expediency and short-term needs, seem to be based on an assumption that teaching is a practical concern which almost anyone can do. "Part of the tension in teacher training at the moment is that both these concepts are endorsed by the government" (Wragg 90:24). Once again, at the heart of the contemporary reforms of teacher education in England and Wales is a tension between the place and role of theory and the part played by practical experience in teacher education. And again, this has been set alongside issues of cost as well as issues of expediency. However, it would be a mistake to construe contemporary developments only in this manner. There are other pressures for reform from within the profession of teacher education as well as from school teachers themselves.

At the present time teacher education stands at a crossroad in its history. There is the growing central control by the state through the Department for Education which contrasts powerfully with the freeing-up of access into the teaching profession by alternative routes. All this is set within a context of a problem of teacher supply, and perhaps more importantly, teacher retention (Smithers 89, 90). Associated with all of this are the concerns of professional teacher educators who have engaged with innovation in their courses (Ashton 89 IT-INSET, McIntyre

90 Oxford Internship Scheme). One influential idea which has been disseminated by some educationalists (Hargreaves 89) has been based on the notion of teacher education shifting into a school-based model. This developed out of the Cambridge and Oxford mentor schemes. The idea was that some schools could be designated as Teaching Schools, like the Teaching Hospitals for medical practitioners. The staff in these teaching schools could be additionally funded to allow for their work with teaching-interns who would be based in the teaching school. These interns would have some professional development, possibly at a local centre. In this radical formation, teacher education as it is presently constituted would no longer exist. However, this move into school-based teacher education was posited on the development of Teaching Schools and it was, and is, by no means certain that there would be enough schools of the appropriate quality. It is also by no means certain that school teachers would either want or be able to fulfil this function as well as educate the school students in their busy classrooms. However, this scheme has not gone away and now seems likely, in a cruder and cheaper form, to become the dominant manner in which the teachers of the future will be 'trained' (see appendix 1).

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate a set of continuities in the development of teacher education. Many long standing structural and discursive concerns have continued to exercise constraints and generate pressures in the contemporary setting. The moves towards school-based teacher education at the end of the twentieth century have their roots in the practices of the past. (The price for this 'reform' may be the erosion of other gains made this century in teacher education, as well as the closure of more institutions of higher education). What now needs to be considered is how these continuities and discontinuities have impacted with the job of teacher education over time.

Chapter Three

The Job of Educating Teachers

As teacher education developed, it generated its own particular culture and ethos and with this went particular sets of discourses which sometimes were set against the policies of the state. Calls for an all-graduate supply of teachers, calls for the extension of courses and demands for greater professional recognition generated tensions in relation to issues of supply and demand as well as contesting the definition of the 'good teacher'. In particular, with the growing awareness of and interest in developmental psychology and child-centred philosophies, the stress on the needs of individual children as active learners was increasingly at odds with a model of schooling which stressed passivity and control. These counter-discourses had consequences for the preparation of teachers. Teacher education was increasingly seen as being related to the individual development of each student teacher as well as having a focus on practical classroom issues. All these dilemmas were to affect the perspectives and the working lives of the women and men who worked in the colleges educating student teachers.

This chapter will focus on the changing job of educating teachers over time. It is fundamental to this investigation that the perspectives and perceptions of key participants which give shape and substance to social policy-making on the ground are identified and are historically located. Policy does not translate into action in a straightforward manner. Indeed to consider organisational policy change without considering the agency of the people involved is to 'reify' the organisation as a separate entity from those who constitute it (Blumer 76). What needs to be considered is the way in which teacher educators have themselves been involved in the shifts and changes which have occurred. In other words, are there any historical strands in their own professional socialisation which need to be considered in relation to the contemporary job of educating teachers?

The process of becoming involved in teaching teachers is itself a contradictory matter. For example, the secondary phase tutor in the university department of education may well have been exposed to a different occupational culture and set of experiences from those of the primary phase tutor in a college of higher education. The tutor who works predominantly in the 'subject' area may well have experienced a different occupational culture from the tutor who works mainly on the pedagogical side of the teacher education course. This might result in different conceptualisations of the role and nature of the job. Indeed some of those involved have come from a different route altogether; with a background of being an academic and research oriented worker as opposed to school teaching experience. What is important to note is that the professional socialisation of the teachers of teachers has generated its own particular discursive formations.

Lacey (77) asserts that professional socialisation is an important feature of any occupation. Its importance lies in the fact that socialisation involves not only the acquisition of specific skills but also a body of attitudes and values. Teacher educators hold beliefs and values towards which they have some professional commitment and these relate to the occupational culture of school teaching. These dispositions will sometimes conflict with changes in the wider setting and this will throw up tensions and conflicts for the teacher educators. These dispositions are historically located, a form of 'sedimented vocabularies of motive' (Wright Mills 40) and particular strands emerge at specific historical moments and re-emerge in new formations. As Wragg (74:43) has said,

Despite the changes [in teacher education] some writers argue that the basic pattern has remained the same. It is indeed true that one can point to earlier models and then find training institutions which still have them. There have certainly been cyclical elements in the history of teacher training. Methods die and are rediscovered in modified form by an exultant future generation.... But modern versions have the advantage of a considerable reservoir of earlier models on which to draw and it is an oversimplification to pretend they have no new elements.

In what follows it is hoped to trace the continuity and discontinuity of themes which are connected with the job of educating teachers.

Origins

The early stages in the historical development of teacher education in the United Kingdom are important if the context in which teacher education has grown for a century and a half is to be understood and its Spartan tradition, its Cinderella-like position in the educational system and its dominance by two major social groups appreciated. These two groups were an educationally concerned bureaucracy whose power of control was remarkably circumscribed and a 'distant' but academic elite largely unappreciative of the special professional needs of teachers and their crucial social functions but deeply committed to spreading the 'benefits' of its own academic traditions to teacher education.

(Lynch 79:7)

From its very inception the people actually doing the job were distanced from decision making and displaced from any real opportunity to assert their own agendas. In a very real way they had only a relative degree of autonomy (Dale 89). Lynch has argued that the tradition of "dependence and ad-hoc decision" making which characterised the emergence of teacher education "augured badly" for the way in which it was to continue. He believes that this ambivalence towards the preparation of teachers has left a particular legacy.

Social inequality, sponsorship and patronage were etched deeply into the fabric of the system and the identity of both sponsor and sponsored moulded accordingly.

(Lynch 79:7)

These patterns of patronage and sponsorship are evident in the early development of teacher education. The apprentice model of teacher education, fundamental to the pupil-teacher model, was a cheap method which involved very little education. It did not attract a good salary and recruited directly from the elementary school. As teacher education became more controlled by the state it seemed more efficient and cost effective to locate it in colleges for teacher training. In the earliest voluntary colleges many of the tutors were teachers in the model schools which were attached to the colleges; they were employed to stress elements of pedagogy as well as subject knowledge but this was frequently of a rudimentary nature. These tutors had frequently attended the same college as students themselves so a certain degree of continuity of ethos was maintained. A pattern of emulation and repetition would be more likely to emerge from this setting than any change in tradition and continuity. As Taylor says

The staff of the colleges in the nineteenth century were not distinguished by their qualifications or accomplishments. Instructing the under-privileged instructors of the under-privileged did not attract many of high academic standing. It was the general practice to recruit staffs from the ranks of former students, some of whom had no practical experience in schools before taking up their appointments.

(Taylor 69:204)

The education of the young was very clearly delineated and was located at the bottom of any hierarchy in teaching. The colleges were only engaged in preparing teachers for working class children; the middle classes had separate provision and their teachers were university graduates who did not need to be 'trained'. So tutors in the training colleges would not expect to have parity of esteem or salary with tutors in the universities. At this point it is possible to identify two strands which still persist in teacher education discourses. It is either sufficient to know and love your subject or you have to be selected and trained for the job. And this depends on who is being taught. So teacher education has been a 'Cinderella service' from an early point, concerned with a low-status provision for a low status sector of society who were to be schooled. The job of teacher education could hardly be regarded as prestigious, it was an occupation which rated below that of teaching in a secondary school (McNair Report 44).

The nineteenth century colleges themselves had a particular culture. They were Spartan places which intended to inculcate 'good' social habits of early rising, a plain diet, a lot of prayer, exercise and much learning by rote. It was a grim, limiting and oppressive discipline for the student teachers and the regime was only slightly easier for the college tutors. However, for many students and tutors, this was an opportunity for some advancement and presented the only limited access to any form of higher education. The colleges did not exist to challenge the status quo but to reinforce it.

Most of these colleges were residential and they were staffed by teachers who themselves had been trained in the narrow-gauged system and had imbibed its

values and the educational and social understandings associated with them concerning their own place and that of their pupils in a well-defined and marshalled social hierarchy.

(Lynch 79:8)

From the histories of the early colleges it is clear that there are many common strands. In the historical accounts of colleges such as Homerton, Borough Road and Avery Hill College it is evident that the tutors had an arduous task. They had to work long hours in the college and sometimes in a local school in order to demonstrate principles of teaching. They had to offer teaching in a main subject area as well as in pedagogical principles and they had to be prepared to become involved in the social and religious life of the college. Their salaries were the same as those of secondary teachers and their board and keep was subtracted from this in advance.

By the end of the nineteenth century, teacher education had been taken over by the state. Already it was clear that the job of teacher education was related directly to supply and demand at minimum cost. It was a vocational and practical training in essence; any elements of education in the system were established more as a result of the struggles and beliefs of individual college principals than the state's wish to give student teachers access to a liberal curriculum. The students as well as the tutors knew their place; it was clearly marked by salary, conditions and expectations. But the aspirations of teacher educators for professional status could not be fully contained. These provided an increasingly strident basis for contest and change in the new century.

The first half of the twentieth century

One of the fundamental changes in the colleges relates to the academic profile of the lecturers. By 1928 over seventy per cent of staff were university graduates (Taylor 69) although the job still carried very little prestige. These graduates would still be expected to teach across a wide range and would have had some teaching experience, although this might not have been in the elementary school.

In the nineteenth century, training colleges had, generally speaking, been staffed by old students or the ex-students of other training colleges. With the establishment of local education authority colleges in the first decade of the twentieth century, teacher education entered a new phase in its development. It became the practice to recruit mainly graduates, some of whom had already held university appointments as university teachers.

(Shorney 89:55)

The fact that the majority of the staff were university graduates and would themselves have experienced a different higher education experience might well have contributed to the maintenance of differential status between the colleges and the universities; the tutors in the

colleges will have been aware of differences in the curriculum and may have regarded their students as less able. Certainly subjects like elocution would not feature in a university curriculum; "students with strong regional accents did not object to elocution lessons primarily designed to remove all trace of their origins" (Shorney 89:126). The colleges were part of a 'gentling' process, part of the socialisation or resocialisation of teachers. Menter and Pollard (89:33) believe that

In the history of this period.... we see some of the types of thinking which endure in the way teaching is conceptualised as a profession, suitable for 'caring middle class women' of 'average intellectual ability', a necessary mass system, an enterprise in which engendering morality and ensuring social control seems as important as intellectual development per se.

Another key feature of college staffing at the turn of the century, and well into its first half, is that the majority of the lecturers were women. Before the Second World War there were only 181 men and 515 women working in the colleges. As late as 1954, out of a total of 2296 tutors, 1625 were women (Taylor 69:203). The job of teacher education was predominantly a feminised division of labour. This had obvious implications for the value, status and salary for the job of lecturing in a training college: "employment in the training colleges continued to carry little by way of prestige and status" (Taylor 69:204). This lack of prestige and status is related in part to the fact that the job of teacher education had been constructed as women's work. What is interesting to note is that during the expansionary sixties when teachers were needed in large numbers, many of the colleges recruited many more men as lecturers and from this point on the balance shifted; never since this time have women outnumbered men in this sector. Taylor (69:204) believes that this change was due to the fact that "this field now offers career possibilities that hardly existed twenty years ago". But Eileen Byrne has another perspective on this shift,

when men have in turn competed with women in entering 'female' fields of training and employment, (they) then take over the leadership (as all over Europe the trend now shows they do).

(Byrne 85: 105)

For the first half of this century most teacher preparation took place in the colleges and most of the lecturers were women. From the evidence contained in various college histories it is clear that these women took their responsibilities seriously. They tended to work in one institution for an extended period, only moving to another college for a senior post. Their role was educational as well as related to the emotional well being of the students. Even the senior lecturers had a part to play in this ethos of 'caring' and commitment to the students well being. For example in 1906 at Avery Hill College the cuts in staff added to the burdens of the college principal

who in addition to her academic responsibilities had to turn her mind to such things as catering and billeting, heating and ventilation. One evening her Senior Student found her in her small flat in the mansion weighing out potatoes to discover how many would be needed to feed the 45 resident and 115 day students at one sitting.

(Shorney 89:56)

In the same college history there are many reports of tutors who gave up their own time to the students; "two evenings a week she gave up to students invited to her sitting room to hear her read from the latest 'Book of the Month'". Tutors are recorded as organising educational visits and trips to the Zoo in their own time. Tutors frequently endowed their colleges with scholarships when they retired. However, from the students' point of view "it was made quite plain to us we were in college to obtain our certificate and prove to ourselves and others how to teach and how to discipline children, firmly but kindly" (Shorney 89:127). Students reported in retrospect that their college experience was more like an extension of school; they were treated like recalcitrant children rather than adult learners.

Nevertheless the job of educating teachers had gradually been extended; although there was still a strong measure of gentrification, there were greater elements of a liberal education and a direct influence from specific bodies of research into childhood and appropriate teaching. Lectures on the work of Pestalozzi, Froebel and Montessori were commonplace and the work of Susan Issacs and the Macmillans was incorporated into the curriculum. However, even as late as 1944 McNair pointed out,

There are not many men and women who are qualified to teach their subject at post secondary level and who also appreciate the part it should play in the education of children and have had substantial experience of teaching it to them. Where such men and women exist they may be reluctant to join the staff of a training college under present conditions. The small size of many colleges means that one lecturer must play many roles and many specialists are naturally unwilling to do this or learn to do it. Moreover, in many cases the isolation of a college, particularly when combined with small size, results in lecturers losing touch with others who profess the same subject and in their falling behind current thought and practice

(McNair Report 44:71 quoted in Taylor 69:205)

For the women who did choose to join the staffs of the training colleges there was frequently a sense of 'mission' and dedication attached to the job. In 1959 Frances Consitt, the principal of Avery Hill, is recorded as holding a strenuous attachment to the role of the training college in the education service; "for her and for many others engaged in teacher education in those years, training college courses were as much a preparation for life as they were for a career in teaching" (Shorney 89:202).

The training colleges may well have been regarded as second-rate and lesser places than the universities, but they were an accessible source of higher education for women and they provided a career path for women lecturers who were marginalised in the universities. Right up until the 1960s, the college principal would nearly always be a woman and her vice-principal posts would also be filled by women. As men moved in, in increasing numbers, and as the status of the Teaching Colleges began to change, the men also moved in on senior lecturing posts and the job of college principal. So while life in the training colleges in the first half of the century is frequently regarded as a time of low intellectual rigour and tedious adherence to an uncritical perspective on teaching, this period, at the very least, provided evidence that women could organise and manage. Women tutors provided positive role models for other women in relation to their working lives. Many able women students eventually returned to lecture in their own colleges.

But while women did dominate, they did so in a relatively powerless and underfunded sector where few men chose to work. Overall, working in the colleges may well have deterred women as much as men for Taylor has painted a grim picture of college life in the forties which he believes, endured well into the sixties. He describes

the well-worn stereotype of the college of this period, in which a diluted form of gracious living was engaged in by a largely spinster staff, in an impressive if educationally unsuitable and draughty building at the end of a mile long drive, ten miles from the nearest town.

(Taylor 69:205)

Even if this is more of a caricature than a fair account there were other issues which reduced the status of working and studying in the colleges. Again it is Taylor who tells us that teachers working in grammar schools would not wish to move into a context where they would be engaged "in preparing the less able sixth formers to teach largely non-academic children" (Taylor 69:205). He added, "Something of this feeling has survived both in the colleges and in the schools".

Overall then, in the first half of this century, a distinctive occupational culture developed round the job of educating teachers. Taylor suggested that this consisted of a form of "social and literary romanticism" which had affected all sectors but which had its most striking effects in the colleges.

In these institutions, the romantic infrastructure has shown itself as a partial rejection of the pluralism of values associated with conditions of advanced industrialization; a suspicion of the intellect and the intellectual; a lack of interest in political and structural change; a stress upon the intuitive and the

intangible, upon spontaneity and creativity; an attempt to find personal autonomy through the arts; a hunger for the satisfactions of inter-personal life within the small community and small group, and a flight from rationality.

(Taylor 69:12)

Taylor justifies this spurious commentary by accounting for this condition through a variety of factors. He believes that the contradictory situation of teachers contributes to this. Teachers work as gatekeepers for 'elite' groups in society without being able to participate in elite groups themselves. They play a part in sorting and sieving for society although their own role may well be secondary to some of the higher status attainments of their former students. Teachers also have to cope with those who are less successful in what Taylor (69:12) calls "the terms dictated by a competitive, status-conscious society". Teachers have to give "meaning and significance" to the majority of children and school students who will not succeed in the system. And the educators of teachers are also caught in this contradictory position. They are also caught between the world of the university and the school "belonging to neither" yet susceptible to criticism from both. Taylor believes that

the history of social and intellectual inferiority that had dogged the colleges of education; the impact of the progressive movement in education with its stress upon the individual child rather than the curriculum, its liberation of mind and spirit from the shackles of academic formalism; all these have played some part in shaping the system of values that characterize the way in which teachers are prepared for their task.

(Taylor 69:12)

Although not all of these aspects would be evident in every college, nevertheless these discursive formations, in various degrees, would impact on the construction of a college 'culture'. This is an important element because where the culture is strong and enduring, new tutors will be exposed to and socialised into this. It will form part of the hidden curriculum of college life and it will influence the day to day interactions of college staff. It will also influence how the job of educating teachers is conceptualised. And particularly, where tutors have themselves been trained in one of these colleges to teach in schools before returning to tutor in a college, then this culture may well seem familiar, and perhaps part of the 'natural' order of things.

Alexander (84) argues that this portrayal of college culture (as expressed in Taylor's frequently quoted passage) has some validity. He believes that contemporary primary school teachers, themselves successors of the elementary teachers who were trained in these colleges, display many of these traits today. He also points out that Taylor's analysis was shared by other critics of the colleges (McDowell 71). Alexander (84:153) adds that the colleges "were firmly hierarchical, dominated by principals exercising in Weber's terms 'traditional' or 'charismatic' authority yet.... accepting the paternalism and protection of university

validation". This point is substantiated by a review of the histories of the colleges which are available (Shorney 89, Simms 79, McGregor 81).

The nineteenth century colleges stressed a limited and predominantly utilitarian role. They were vocational institutions more to do with social control than anything else. In the first half of the twentieth century the colleges attempted to provide a liberal education as well as a vocational core which had direct connections with human relations. They had a child-centred emphasis, coupled with a notion of what Floud (62) called the "missionary spirit"; they had a civilising mission, an intellectual function and a socialising project. In his review of innovation and continuity in teacher education from the sixties to the eighties, Alexander (84) highlights the key point; the tutors in the institutions are the chief actors in the 'on the ground' activities. For this reason he comments that

It is not surprising that beyond the nominal and structural changes of the 1970s initial teacher education curriculum the practices, assumptions and epistemologies of the 1960s and earlier should have persisted.... People do not change that easily.

(Alexander 84:152)

From the sixties to the nineties

Right up to the sixties a strong and pervasive culture had persisted in teacher education. And although it is fair to comment that in the various departments of the colleges there were conflicting elements - the tension between the personal/academic aspect of the job with the professional/vocational element - generally there were many strong continuities of value and orientation. This culture and this sector was to be challenged in the second half of this century.

Firstly the pressures of changing needs in supply and demand for teachers were to affect the sector almost continually. Secondly, although teacher educators had been criticised in the past, they were to be subjected from now on to an almost non-stop critique. And thirdly, with college diversification came a need for different staffing for the new degree courses.

As previously discussed, in the early sixties there were increased demands for more teachers. New colleges were set up and older colleges had to expand their places at an alarming rate. The colleges coped with this in a variety of ways. Some lengthened the college day, others managed by keeping students off the premises and on teaching practice. But however well this was handled there was a real need for more staff.

The very strong emphasis by the government on expansion in the 1960s meant that a high proportion of the staffs of the colleges had to be recruited within a very few years.

(Gosden 84:38)

Many of these new lecturers were recruited from local schools. They were known to the current college staffs and had frequently participated in teaching practice. Some of these lecturers were ex-students of the colleges. Taylor records that in 1963 the Ministry of Education issued a document 'The Work of the Training Colleges' which attempted to broadcast the attractions of this work and in 1966 the DES ran courses for school teachers in order to inform and prepare them for this new task. College work became more attractive in the sixties and it is from here on that it is possible to trace the 'take-over' in the job of educating teachers by men from women. And as teacher education became more 'academic' and looked to become a graduate course, its career-appeal rose.

In this period, substantial surveys of college staff and the staff of university departments of education were carried out (Taylor 65, Robbins Report 66). Seventy-seven per cent of men and eighty-four per cent of women had honours degrees, twenty-five per cent of men but only twelve per cent of women were working towards higher qualifications. Women tended to have significantly more school experience than men at all levels although about ten per cent of the lecturers had no school experience at all. Science had the largest number of tutors who had never taught in a school (and the majority of secondary phase lecturers had only taught in grammar schools which would have obvious implications for comprehensivisation). The reports demonstrated clearly that the lecturers had not taught in other colleges. Over eighty per cent of men and sixty per cent of women were in their first appointments.

There are a number of significant features here in relation to the job of teacher education. The enormous influx of new tutors coming direct from schools to colleges signalled some key changes. Firstly, women in teacher education were significantly marginalised. Although they were generally better qualified and more experienced, they were to take second place to the new male tutors. Taylor reports two cases where two principalships were advertised in the sixties, in which one received 370 applications of which 34 were from women, and the other, a local education college predominantly for women students, 115 applications, 4 of which were women (Taylor 69:204). Obviously factors related to the 'traditional' subservient role, the socialisation of women in a patriarchal society, the 'normalisation' of male dominance and the belief that a woman's 'real' place was in the home while the male was the chief wage earner were at play here. Possibly issues of quality of life for women lecturers were a significant factor. Women may have chosen not to participate at principal level at this specific historical juncture.

Secondly, the majority of new lecturers had not worked in any other college. It could be argued that they would be susceptible to any college ethos which existed. They would perhaps be more likely to subscribe to the culture and support it; after all they would not have applied to a college if they had not had a degree of affinity for what they thought it represented. Also as

they had not done the job before they could be more open to control and normalisation in respect of a job for which they were not trained and which they had to learn either by 'sitting beside Nellie' if they were lucky, or by doing it if they were not.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the job of educating teachers (and teaching undergraduates) is that it has never been seen necessary in this country to 'educate' the educators in relation to pedagogical concerns. There has been an almost silent and historical conspiracy around this: a teacher of five year olds needs a four-year degree course or at the very least a one-year PGCE while college tutors need only a first degree (which may well be unrelated to their college work) and perhaps some experience of teaching in a school. And, until very recently, it did not even seem to matter that the school experience might not have any match with the sector for which the student teachers were preparing. Frequently, grammar school teachers would be engaged in preparing teachers for inner-city primaries. Of course, all this reflects a philosophical underpinning which privileges a version of a practical view of the job of educating teachers. As long as the tutor had been a school teacher, it followed that they would be an effective teacher educator. But while they might have a certain degree of credibility with the students, anecdote and past experience can only go so far. Taylor (69:211) is correct when he says that "educators of teachers do require some experience of the kind of work for which they are preparing students if they are to be fully aware of these students' needs and the teaching problems that they will encounter". He added that "existing evidence does not however, enable any final judgement to be made regarding either the type or amount of such experience that is most valuable". This is an interesting comment (from the first chair of the CATE committee) in the light of various and quite specific requirements for school experience for those engaged currently in the job of educating teachers made by CATE.

Taylor did carry out an investigation into the values and orientations of college lecturers. He was interested in why they were attracted to work in this sector. He elicited the views of one in four of those tutors who entered teacher education in the period of 1963/4 through a questionnaire survey (see fig. 3). The sample was a small one and he recognised that the views expressed were not necessarily representative, nevertheless there were particular themes which featured in the statements of these new recruits. As he said at the time, many of the comments are common-sense ones. The opportunity to work with students who actively chose to be at the college rather than classroom captives, the chance to teach a subject at what is conceptualised as a 'higher' level, improved status and salary and greater variety and flexibility in the college, all these featured strongly in the responses obtained.

However obvious these comments might seem, one significant element was drawn out by Taylor. He regarded these sorts of comments as "somewhat at odds" with what he regarded as the "prevailing progressive ideology and image of teacher education". These comments contrast

quite strikingly with the value orientations which have been described in this chapter in relation to the job of educating teachers over time. There is no mention of a desire to develop the 'whole person' of the teacher, nor is there any mention of a commitment to

	MEN	WOMEN
Interest in subject and possibility of teaching it to a higher level	25	11
Possibilities of working with more mature students	20	9
Variety and scope of the work as compared with teaching in schools	20	9
Improved salary and/or promotion prospects	11	2
Desire to propagate new ideas, interest in work and greater variety of children contacted	9	6
Opportunity to pass on experiences to teachers in training	8	8
Improved opportunities for research, writing and private study	7	6
Opportunities for pastoral work with young people, residential possibilities	5	2
Exhausted possibilities of the classroom	4	4
Improved work conditions, freedom from administrative responsibilities	3	3
Contraction of opportunity in previous post (eg in art education, adult education etc)	2	0

Figure 3 Attractions of work in teacher education by number of times mentioned by newly recruited lecturers
(in Taylor 69:207)

teacher education per se. Taylor says that this contrast becomes more evident when compared with some of the statements from the sample. He cites the following comments which were part of the responses, as evidence of a progressive orientation:

My love of children, their welfare and the hope that I can influence many more people to give everything they have to give to these all important infants (May I add that I miss these children very much?)

I believe education can be the most effective instrument of social change in a democracy.

I believe that children, all children, ordinary children, are capable of much more interest in life and a higher standard of performance than they are credited with by the average schoolmaster.

Concern at lack of spontaneous expression afforded to children in primary and secondary schools

In a sense this would represent the 'expected' and almost predictable rhetoric of response. But as Taylor notes, the views which were mentioned the most related more to individual career issues. Taylor adds that some of the responses reveal that a lectureship "represented a way of escaping from a situation that had become uncongenial" (Taylor 69:209). The written comments showed that many of the respondents actively wanted to do 'advanced work' with mature students as well as moving out of teaching. They expressed various fears;

At the end of fourteen years of teaching and approaching forty, [I] felt the pressure of another twenty-five years of mixture as before

An immense fear of becoming typed as 'an old teacher' - a revulsion at the rapidity with which senior members of grammar school common rooms (especially single-sexed) tended to become senile. I felt I wanted to escape from teaching before I reached their age and state.

This piece of research evidence is particularly relevant to this investigation because it sheds light on a job which has been significantly under researched. Most of the research into teacher education examines various courses and attempts either to correlate course design with teacher output or focuses on experimental elements within courses. What is striking, given the growing interest and concern with the lives and careers of classroom teachers and the burgeoning research into this aspect, is the dearth of investigations of this nature into the work, culture, perceptions and aspirations of teacher educators.

The small study by Taylor contrasts with some of the dominant and persistent themes which are contained in the rhetoric of the histories of the various colleges and which seem to be part of an established consensus. Indeed it reveals that although the teachers moving into the college sector 'know' what they are supposed to say and can rehearse the rhetoric if required, their personal needs and responses contradict some of this. Of course this is an obvious and elementary conclusion in relation to a 'commonsense' view on any job change, but it is significant in the sense that teaching was at the time of the study (and still seems to be) irrevocably related to a notion of 'mission', professional commitment and a perception of altruism. It is fascinating to note that enhanced salary was frequently mentioned by men but significantly less so by women. It is only possible to speculate about this; perhaps the women were clustered in the early years/primary sector and had been socialised by their own colleges into this 'missionary' construct about teaching and college life. There is a clear difference in female and male responses which might seem fairly predictable in relation to the powerful influence of college culture which many of them would have experienced. In addition to this, the beliefs about the place of women in society, their major role as carers and home makers and their secondary and supplementary place in the labour market might have played a part in their responses.

What this study does demonstrate is the existence of a number of possible tensions and inevitable contradictions in relation to discursive underpinnings. Although the tutors stated concern with progressive movements in schooling and the need for a child-centred approach, they indicated a strong desire for getting away from being concerned with this at first hand. This might mean that when decisions have to be made about courses of action within any institution, certain more fundamental needs may well dominate. For example, pragmatism, the need to safeguard the institution as a place of work may well become more important than ethical professional issues. Personal survival and the survival of ones friends and colleagues at a time of crisis might over-ride other wider 'professional' issues such as what seems to be in the best interests of promoting learning in children. But this is true in any work setting. What is interesting is that these micro-political elements are rarely discussed in the literature surrounding the colleges or university departments of education other than in the case studies of closures or mergers (Shaw 78, 84).

The job of educating teachers, as far as it is 'done' by ex-school teachers, is a contradictory experience. At one and the same time tutors will be trying to extol the virtues of a job they have left, while moving further and further away from this context into a different milieu of higher education. This opens them up to the dilemmas and tensions within which they become trapped. Firstly, there is the old hoary chestnut which is constantly invoked. 'Those who can. do. Those who can't, teach. And those who can't teach, teach teachers'. Secondly, there is the constant antagonism, resentment and surprise elicited from school teaching colleagues who may well see the job change as either a form of 'selling out' or evidence of strong careerist intentions, which contrast sharply with the normative rhetoric of teaching as a 'mission'. Sometimes, it is even perceived as a 'waste' of a good teacher. So again college lecturers doing the job of educating teachers are in a contradictory position. The practitioners in the field may not regard lecturers in a favourable light and yet one of the crucial elements to the job of educating teachers is a reasonable relationship with and understanding of school life. Indeed 'partnership' with schools is a valued and essential commodity in the contemporary context. The students likewise may regard tutors as out of touch or may reject what they have to offer on the basis that 'they got out of it quickly enough'. The final irony is that in relation to their colleagues in other departments in the institution they may be perceived of as 'second-rate' and 'not quite academics'.

These sorts of criticisms have often surfaced in relation to teacher education and to the job of the tutor in the colleges. Particularly in the early sixties, school teachers were complaining that their courses were not relevant to their needs (Browne 69). At the same time research was suggesting that the courses lacked rigour (Willey and Maddison 71). And Edward Britton, secretary-designate of the NUT in the mid-sixties, whose background was in industrial training, argued that the job of preparing teachers might be better handled by those working on

the shop floor. He stated at an educational symposium in 1968 that the local education authorities who employed teachers together with teachers who have to do the job would be better able to know what sort of training would be most appropriate (Britton 69).

Taylor also conducted research into the work of education lecturers in university departments. Here too he found that in comparison with colleagues in different departments, the job of teacher education was complex, low status and poorly resourced. He accounted for this in the following manner:

Education lecturers are a good deal older when recruited to university work and they include a larger proportion of women. A recent career analysis showed that their prospects of promotion to senior grades were much poorer. They have a lower proportion of men and women with first class honours degrees than the staff of most other faculties and a much smaller proportion of PhD's. They do more teaching and less research

(Taylor 69:222).

University education lecturers are an interesting group of workers in their own right. Other than identifying these similar constraints and limitations involved in their work it is not possible to do justice to this group in the present study. That has been done elsewhere (Taylor 64). In the sixties the majority of school teachers were still educated in the colleges; it was the dominant route into state primary and secondary teaching and the colleges of this period provided a particular and historically constructed culture which impacted with the job of teacher education. And many of the tutors currently working in teacher education in colleges received their teacher education in these colleges. Nevertheless the universities also exercise some influence on the tutors' work; they were responsible for the provision of higher degrees, in service work, conferences, research and external examining.

The job of teacher education was made more difficult and complicated by the structural concerns which arose in the sixties but which were to dominate the seventies. The James Report, the White Paper 'Framework for Expansion' and the move towards a teacher education degree, the BEd, as a result of the Robbins Report (discussed in the previous chapters) all had an impact on course development and college work. But overshadowing all these concerns were the key issues of supply and demand. If the sixties had been typified by massive expansion, the seventies were to become a period unprecedented in the history of teacher education for reorganisations, mergers, cuts, closures and staff redundancies. "Reform had been replaced entirely by rationalization" (Hencke 78:112).

At this point in the history of teacher education, it is easy to see how the traditional apolitical, hierarchical and deferential culture of the colleges made them an easy hostage to fortune. The vast majority of college staff were members of the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE). But the Association had a very small

membership which never exceeded seven thousand. It was a non-militant association more concerned with 'professional' matters than trade union activities, and not in a strong position to contest developments in policy. Indeed college principals dominated the association. Although they had their own panel, the college principals elected the chair of the ATCDE.

The organisation could be its own worst enemy. Its own hierarchy encouraged principals to feel they were in a privileged position. Their own panel would hold private meetings and was even addressed twice by senior civil servants outlining the latest developments. Principals could - and in the early stages of reorganisation, did - act as self-appointed censors, deciding what information should be available to their staff. It was only as the extent of reorganisation became more widely known, and the principals themselves realised they had been kept in the dark, that the whole situation changed

(Hencke 78:120).

But of course it was too late for much to be done. Individual colleges attempted to rally support for themselves but it was too little, too late and there was no real collective action. Indeed the ethos of the colleges would have made any attempt at collectivity almost impossible. The best that could be achieved was a very advantageous redundancy package, the Crombie Settlement. So in the second half of the decade and into the early eighties, experienced teacher educators who were old enough to take advantage of this agreement, moved out of the sector. Those who remained had experienced a severe jolt to their system. Teacher education was no longer seen as a safe and secure job.

Other changes had occurred too. Because many of the colleges survived by becoming diversified, a different 'type' of tutor was now needed; one who could teach a subject to degree level and would be recognised by the validating body. Traditional academic qualifications were needed to give strength and security to the main subject departments which moved into providing BA and BSc degrees. Some tutors who had a strong affiliation with their subject welcomed this development as it matched their desire for what they regarded as academic legitimacy. However, a more complicated tension was to emerge in the education studies departments due to the development of new courses and new BEd degrees.

A contingent problem concerned the staffing of the new BEds: a new tension emerged, particularly problematic in primary training, between the colleges' traditional wish to recruit experienced classroom practitioners and the universities' requirement that the BEd like any other degree, be taught by staff well qualified academically. Inevitably this proved divisive in the colleges, the more so as colleges during the sixties and seventies increasingly appointed staff who were both younger and academically better qualified than the post-war certificate generation and who lacked what the latter (and teachers in schools) regarded as the key basis for legitimacy and credibility as teacher educators, substantial and successful experience in schools.

(Alexander 84:109)

The degree programmes had evolved in a particular way. Where the courses had once been fairly straightforward - with the main subject providing 'personal development' for the student, teaching practice providing practical skills and training and education focusing on the traditional disciplines of history, philosophy, psychology and sociology - there was now a greater attempt at integration at least in planning the course(s), if not necessarily in practice. In educational studies the disciplines had been incorporated into thematic courses such as 'Children and Learning' or 'The social context of schools'. This meant that some of the tutors were further marginalised; their particular expertise in the traditional discipline was less central. And as better qualified and younger tutors moved into the subject study departments, educationalists were cut back in numbers. The disciplines were replaced and what was needed in the departments were generalists.

The seventies saw a dynamic shift in terms of who was employed in the colleges of higher education. Young well qualified post-doctoral lecturers were appointed to teach subject studies on the diversified degrees. Their ambitions were academic; their long term goal often to seek a university appointment. The college would be the first step towards this. Teacher education moved from being the *raison d'être* of these institutions to being just one of many undertakings. In some of these institutions teacher education now became reduced in status, attracting poorer resources, with less favourable staff-student ratios than the diversified courses. Although it is true that in the seventies education theory had "acquired a life of its own" (Alexander 84) it was also true that pedagogy was increasingly neglected (Simon 83). In order to compete in the more academic terrain of the colleges of higher education, the education departments concentrated now on legitimising their activities. "Education theory.... was less and less concerned with the needs of intending teachers, more and more with the intellectual preoccupations of educational theorists and researchers" (Alexander 84:136). Education staff updated their theoretical knowledge in order to survive in this brave new world of the colleges of higher education.

The early eighties saw a spate of DES and HMI publications on school curriculum and organisation. These "underlined the need for change and development in the training of teachers" (DES 87:9). There were new concerns which called for direct responses in the staffing of the colleges. As Alexander points out, the wheel had turned full circle. A BEd survey by McNamara and Ross (82) showed serious lack of teaching experience in the staff profiles particularly in primary education. In 1983 the DES published, 'Teaching in schools: The content of Initial Training, an HMI discussion paper', which resulted in strong recommendations in terms of staffing policies for teacher education. Academic qualifications were no longer an issue. What was needed was practical experience. More teachers from schools needed to be brought into the colleges. CATE 3/84 firmed this up. Between 1983-1985 the HMI visited forty-five per

cent of all non-university institutions providing teacher education. Their account was published two years later and it was reported that

Despite the recent history of contraction in teacher training and the tight control of staff - student ratios, the number of staff was in all cases adequate for the demands of the initial training courses. The great majority of those contributing to the courses were judged to be well qualified academically, and almost all were qualified to teach in schools. Most had been in post for over a decade, and in the main their previous full time teaching experience had been in secondary schools. Only a relatively small number had experience which was recent and appropriate for the increase in the training of primary teachers.

(HMI Survey 87:11)

Contemporary 'cultures' in teacher education

What conclusions then can be drawn from the HMI survey of 1987 with regard to the current constitution and work of teacher education? Firstly, there are the issues which obtain across the sector and which affect all tutors. Secondly, there are particular issues which reflect different traditions and cultures which nevertheless are incorporated in the staffing of the colleges. These will now be examined.

There are some striking commonalities which relate to the fact that the majority of tutors have worked in teacher education for over a decade. Most of these tutors are secondary teachers. It is likely that the majority worked in grammar schools and were recruited in the seventies. If they experienced teacher education themselves, it would have been a PGCE course. They would have been exposed to the traditional disciplines in their preparation for teaching and would probably have a strong 'subject' affiliation, which could mean that they value the 'subject' work more highly than pedagogy. Taylor's small study on the reasons why teachers moved into this sector (at an earlier time it has to be stated), illustrates the strong affiliation to subject and desire to teach this rather than education or pedagogy. However, these teachers would have been selected for the college staff not only on the basis of their academic acceptability but also on the extent to which they would be likely to subscribe to the ethos of the institution. Hencke (78) has suggested that the lecturers in the seventies were apolitical, hierarchical and possibly deferential towards authority. Their autonomy would be limited only to matters which were deemed 'professional' as long as this related solely to pedagogical matters (Grace 87:214). They may well have been exposed to an occupational culture of school teaching which was apolitical. They may be less likely to have been members of an active trade union when they were teachers and more likely to have been in a 'professional association'. They would have missed the school teachers' action in the seventies. They may have been a pretty conservative group of workers.

The institutions to which they were recruited would certainly have demonstrated some of the attributes described by Taylor. The cultural ethos he describes would have been evident in the buildings, in the way matters were decided in the college perhaps, but generally in the total ambience. The newly-appointed tutors would have been exposed to a particular occupational culture which would have persisted over some time although it may well have become ragged at the edges. Afternoon tea in the senior common room may well now have to be paid for but it will still be in bone china cups. The residues of 'gracious living' will still be discernible. But as well as these ephemeral facets of college life, there are other elements of the colleges which persist. The tradition of educating the 'whole person' for what may still be construed as a socialising as well as 'gentling' process may still be in evidence. There may still be traces of the 'missionary' element (Floud 62) evident in the hidden curriculum of teacher education.

What is crucial to remember is that these long-serving members of staff will have experienced the effects of James and the 'Expansion' paper. They will have seen friends and colleagues 'Crombied', they may in some cases have been redeployed from colleges which closed, they have experienced a very severe period of cuts and cut backs throughout the seventies but they have survived. However, instead of being 'politicised' by this experience, the opposite may have occurred. Unfortunately, the one lesson which was learned from this period was that action or attempts at resistance were ineffective. Institutions were not closed for any logical reason; it seemed a random exercise. The fact that courses were excellent, the college of national repute and popular with students, all these elements had made no difference. Some of these longer serving tutors who may well be in senior managerial posts may be less likely than ever to challenge the status-quo because of this personal history. This will be as true for the tutors with a primary as well as secondary teaching background. The lesson learned from all this would be one of ineffectiveness and powerlessness in the face of bureaucratic decision making and government 'policy-making'. Survival was the important issue, perhaps at any price.

Another common experience will be the one which places the tutor in a complex relationship both with schools as well as the university. All these tutors work in a sector which has diminished status. In the view of schools, the tutors may seem 'out of date' and far too ivory tower; in terms of universities these tutors have less qualifications, few if any publications to their names and no major research contracts. Indeed many of the colleges have had a historical connection with the validating universities which positioned them in an acquiescent subservient relationship (Alexander 84). Even though the colleges may have moved from the university sector to the CNAA, external examiners will tend still to be located in universities.

But there are some important differences between colleges in traditions and cultures. Where the college has educated primary as well as secondary teachers, there may be distinct differences here. There may be a stronger 'child-centred' rhetoric. There may be stronger attachments to

developmental psychology. There may be a stronger attachment to what Alexander has described as the 'we teach children not subjects' syndrome (Alexander 84a). This might be even more in evidence where the college has a tradition of working in the early years sector. Lacey (77) regarded teaching as having essentially a divided nature in relation to the training as well as educational background of teachers and the differentiated status of their sectors; primary or secondary.

Secondly, with the pressure from HMI on the institutions to employ more teachers direct from schools in the eighties, a new group of people have moved into the sector. What is privileged in this cohort is practical experience. These tutors will have taught in comprehensive schools, perhaps some of them will have taught in inner city schools, they will have all been exposed to equality of opportunity issues in their various LEAs. They may well be critical of their own teacher education; this cohort will all certainly have experienced some. They may be critical of their more senior and less practically-experienced colleagues. As Whitty et al have suggested in relation to this particular staffing change,

When looking at government policies as a means of achieving greater control over teacher education, such changes can be seen to have significant consequences. They appear to have been designed so that at one and the same time, the status and importance of experience is increased and that of analysis is decreased. The scale is thus tipped away from those who might ask questions towards those who will 'get on with the job'. It is undoubtedly the case that those education staff who identify themselves with the study of education via disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, psychology and history are finding themselves in retreat whilst the populism of 'being an experienced teacher' takes over.

(Whitty, Barton and Pollard 87:169)

Whatever the truth in this, what is certain is that these 'newer' tutors have moved into a sector whose history they might not be aware of. Although they will have taught in schools during two major phases of teachers' action, they may well be oriented in a particular apolitical manner. Central government's attempts to reposition teachers in a state of 'regulated autonomy' (Dale 89) precipitated concern, anger in some parts and widespread action, however, this subsided eventually and union membership decreased. Although there has always been a group of radical and socialist teachers, the majority of teachers are apolitical and conservative (Grace 78). This has been part of teacher socialisation, part of the occupational culture particularly of primary school teachers. And like their senior colleagues, these new college tutors will not only have been selected for their academic or practical experience; they will also have been selected, in part, on the basis of institutional compatibility.

The occupational culture and socialisation of teachers has been subjected to investigation over a long period and although it is not possible to do justice to the substantial work in this field, there seem to be two major theoretical positions. Lacey (77) argues that different levels of

motivation and commitment to teaching by students leads to differential outcomes in orientation; some teachers will be more radicalised than others. Mardle and Walker (80) proposed a more closed conceptualisation which is of interest to this particular study. They argued that teacher training is not an interrupter but more of a continuity of experiential learning. In their view the hidden curriculum of teacher education was restrictive and based on "liberal individualism". This means that assimilating the notion of 'differentiation' in schools is central and this pervades all professional practice. Teachers' theories become predisposed in particular directions, that is, towards the view that problems are seen mainly as deriving from individuals and that solutions be directed at individuals (Norwich 85:44). It may well be that both perspectives obtain but that this style of "liberal individualism" creates tensions for some tutors who attempt to move beyond this into a more radical interpretation of teaching and learning.

Summary and conclusions

The job of teacher education is located within a particular historical and cultural milieu. It is a contradictory, differentiated and marginalised occupation. Where once it was seen as a 'traditional' feminised division of labour, it has now become 'masculinised'. Teacher educators are better qualified today than they have ever been. However, they have an orientation towards an apolitical and individualistic stance. Embedded within all this are themes of the 'development of the whole person', the strength of various subject affiliations and perhaps too, elements of the progressive child-centred rhetoric of developmentalism.

This chapter has aimed to establish the substance of the culture of teacher education within the college sector. Although the key elements of supply and demand have an obvious impact on the contemporary policy context, the manner in which teacher education policy is incorporated, displaced, avoided and responded to in the colleges is bound up with the ethos, 'the way of the world' in these small institutions. Policy is encountered by people who have a history, by people who work in institutions which also have a history and a particular culture. What is central to this study is that all these different histories and cultures will affect current perspectives and create tensions within institutions. All these elements will be important contributory factors to the way in which tutors understand their jobs, contemporary change and policy shifts.

Introduction to Section Two

This section presents a brief historical overview of Sacred Heart College, the case study college. I will concentrate on the way in which the institution has been shaped by the shifts in policy and legislation which have already been discussed. While there are strong similarities which are common to all the surviving colleges, clearly every institution has its unique features which give substance to its culture; every college is constructed through a range of values, myths, rituals and routines some of which are common to the sector, others to the particular institution. In this section the culture of Sacred Heart, in its contemporary context, will be considered and I will argue that this contains historical residues which have persisted over time and are potent elements today.

Institutions are not only shaped out of their past. They are influenced by the daily interactions of the people who work and study there. In this section I shall also provide an overview of the ways in which the teaching staff are organised and categorised at Sacred Heart College. I will examine a profile of the contemporary tutors at the college. Sacred Heart is staffed by one hundred and two lecturers which includes the Principal and two executive Academic Vice Principals; one academic and the other responsible for external and internal student relations. The College has recently been re-organised from a traditional department structure into three faculties; Humanities, Sciences and Teaching Studies each led by a Dean (although Teaching Studies, as the largest faculty, also has an Assistant Dean). Individual departments have been allocated to a faculty although the co-existence of these parallel structures can cause some tensions. Many of the college tutors have some connection with teaching studies although the main responsibility for educating intending teachers is carried by a small core of tutors.

In order to critically examine the career profile of those most involved in teaching teachers I distributed a questionnaire (see appendix 2) which was designed to collect this basic information. The questionnaire also attempted to elicit some of the reasons why the tutors had chosen to become teacher educators. The data collected from the questionnaire is discussed in this section.

In order to maintain anonymity I have changed the name of the college and have attempted to present the historical background in a way which maintains this. (A discussion of the ethical questions which have been part of this study is included in the coda). In order to let the tutors speak for themselves, their names too have been changed (See fig 13).

Chapter 4

The College

A brief history of Sacred Heart College

As noted already, teacher education was originally a voluntary movement and it was not until 1835 that the government made any provision; ten thousand pounds was set aside for the building of Normal Schools, as the colleges were then called. By 1847 twenty colleges had been set up, all under the regulating control of the British or National Society. These societies were concerned with schooling the poor in basic skills and with 'gentling' them through exposure to 'good' Christian values. All this has been discussed in the first section. However, what has not been discussed is the way in which certain communities were excluded from these grants.

Nineteenth century industrialisation was spurred on by the labour of the indigenous working classes and by the labour of migrants who came to the English cities escaping from various deprivations or persecutions at home, drawn by the allure of work and a promise of greater safety. The largest number of these people came from Ireland, traditionally a Roman Catholic country. However, the Roman Catholic community, which had swelled in England due to the Irish famine of 1845, was without a college in which to prepare teachers for the schools which had already started to be established. Roman Catholics had to erect and maintain their own schools through voluntary contributions because, unlike Anglicans or other non conformists, because of the minutes of the Committee of Council of Education of 1839 they were not allowed government grants.

As a consequence of this discrimination, the Catholic community founded the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847 in order to force some change. In 1848 Parliament sanctioned grants to Catholics who could now set up their own state-funded schools. This generated an additional need for Catholic teachers and, thus, for colleges where they could be trained. The provision of Catholic teachers was, and still is, extremely important to the Catholic community because it is expected that formal education should support and sustain the beliefs and values of the faith-community. It is the duty of the parents to ensure a Catholic education for their children and it is the responsibility of the Church to oversee this provision and ensure its stability and continuity. In the nineteenth century, it was also believed that only male members of a religious community could be entrusted with this important role. So, when the Catholic Poor School Committee had eventually obtained their right to financial support, they immediately set about developing an Order of Teaching Brothers who could take charge of Catholic education. Fairly quickly it was realised that lay-persons would have to be prepared as teachers if the demands for Catholic teachers were to be met.

With the resolution of the grants issue it was possible to purchase premises. In 1850 the Catholic Poor School Committee started to set up Catholic teacher training colleges across the country. At a very early point Sacred Heart College was established. The college had a difficult start and this was compounded by the fact that teachers in Catholic schools received lower salaries than teachers in other schools, an added difficulty to the recruitment of good students. Indeed it was not really until the 'boom' years following the 1870 Elementary Act and the need for many more elementary schools that the college was able to fill its accommodation for the first time.

By the start of the twentieth century the foundation of Catholic elementary schools and the establishment of Catholic training colleges was well established. In Sacred Heart, real progress had been made. However, during the twentieth century, Sacred Heart experienced all the problems involved in attempting to meet the requirements of supply and demand outlined previously. The 1902 Education Act which supported the development of secondary education created a need for additional teachers which Sacred Heart responded to in the courses which it ran. So student numbers increased at a steady pace from sixty four in 1901 to one hundred and sixteen by 1907. This was a satisfactory growth not only for the college but also for the Catholic Education Council (CEC) which replaced the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1905.

During the period of the First World War Sacred Heart felt the pressure of declining numbers but was able to keep its student role up sufficiently to avoid closure. After the war teacher education moved into a new era. For the Catholic community the introduction of the Burnham salary scales, which ensured that Catholic teachers were to be paid at the same rates as other teachers, was a great benefit. And after the war, in 1925, the college roll increased to such an extent that new premises were needed. Sacred Heart transferred to larger premises set in extensive grounds outside the local city.

As previously described, the 1930s were a difficult period in the history of teacher education and the tensions of supply and demand continued to be experienced. However, it was possible for the trump card of Catholicism to be played at certain times in order to withstand particular pressures. For example, in July 1929 the government had announced that it intended to raise the secondary school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen from April 1931 and had put a bill before the Commons. Sacred Heart and all the other colleges did their best to increase their numbers and there were two hundred and eighty students at Sacred Heart in 1930. However, the bill was postponed and in a search to reduce costs by the Board of Education, all the colleges were constrained to reduce their intake. There were further reductions during the decade which had the knock-on effect of a decline in capitation funding which resulted in many colleges facing real financial difficulties and some of the colleges had to close. The outbreak of the Second World War ensured that these constraints were to persist into the next decade.

After the Second World War, the spirit of reform was abroad and there was a need to increase the number of teachers. The McNair report of 1944 pressed for reorganisation which led to changes in Sacred Heart College. In 1949 Sacred Heart became a constituent member of the local university which was seen as a real advantage to the college. At the same time, the increasing inroads into teacher education made by the Local Educational Authorities resulted in a funding change which meant that from 1950 onwards the voluntary colleges only received fifty per cent of any approved expenditure as against the LEA colleges getting full funding for costs.

The rapid expansions in the sixties quickly followed by the massive reductions and changes in the seventies had particular consequences for Sacred Heart. In 1966 the college admitted its first intake of women students, who were heavily outnumbered by men, although this gender pattern for teacher education was to shift rapidly to mirror the dominant pattern in school teaching of a feminised division of labour. In Sacred Heart a traditionally male-centred ethos was 'invaded' by a competing and contradictory set of expectations and pressures. The advent of women demanded new buildings, different resource provisions and new staff.

Another crucial change around this time was the move towards diversification in degrees being offered in the sector. Sacred Heart had traditionally been a teacher training college. Now it was to be permitted to offer subject-only degrees like a 'real' institute of higher education, like a university. The James Report had pressed for teachers to be educated alongside other graduates. But there were other reasons for this change. In the seventies, teacher numbers needed to be reduced but the government was committed to extending access to higher education. The Colleges of Higher Education as they were now called, were able to 'fill up' their reduced student-teacher numbers with students on diversified degree courses. The college responded quickly to develop a strong portfolio of joint subject degrees. This in turn created a need for tutors who reflected these developments. The staff profile needed to reflect an 'academic' strength in order to meet the requirements of the validating university.

With the shift which occurred in the nature of the work of the college and with the pressures of demands and cuts in teacher numbers, the task of staffing small colleges in an appropriate manner became increasingly difficult. This was recognised by central government who, with the DES, set up a very generous redundancy package which was to assist this major change in staffing profile in the mid-seventies. It was crucial to reduce the teacher educators and recruit good 'academics' to teach on the new degrees. At Sacred Heart College, one of the tutors of this period believes that it is from this point in time that it is possible to detect an academic /educationalist divide in staff outlook (see chapter six).

Funding has always been a difficult issue for teacher education. As the state made an increased provision to the colleges, it set out conditions for the continuation of funding attached to specific criteria which had to be met. This, of course, has become ever more stringent in

contemporary times in order to ensure that the educational market works to centrally-determined ends. Indeed what has happened under the contemporary bidding arrangements where student numbers have been tightly related to costs, has been a form of 'pile 'em high and teach 'em cheap' (see chapter nine). The method for this has been a 'bidding' process where colleges have had to submit bids to the funding council, the Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC) where different types of students carry different costs. [In 1993 the PCFC has been displaced by the Higher Education Funding Council, the HEFC, which oversees all allocations to higher education institutions - although there are current proposals to replace this body with the Teacher Training Agency to be centrally controlled by the Secretary of State for Education]. For example, doctors and dentists 'cost' more than humanities students. Colleges are awarded student numbers on the basis of competitive bidding. Sacred Heart has had to accommodate to all this and there have been a variety of material and structural outcomes. As one of the tutors has written in an unpublished essay,

A hierarchical structure has been introduced. Sacred Heart Enterprises PLC has been established and the newly created position of Marketing Manager filled. The impact of PCFC funding on a small college such as Sacred Heart is considerable, since we are bound to be at a disadvantage in a system of competitive bidding against much larger organisations who are better able to involve themselves in cost cutting exercises.

(Tutor essay 90:19)

From all this there are some issues which need to be highlighted. The historical roots of the Catholic colleges lie in a successful bid to overcome discrimination in order to be recognised for funding. It may well be that because of this, the Catholic institutions are better placed to resist closures and cuts. They have historically been marginalised and discriminated against and this can sometimes engender a tougher response in adverse circumstances. As well, the denominational colleges always have a 'rogue card' to play in difficult times. They can call on the faith community and the Church establishment, with its powerful and well-organised lobby and its own media sources, to exert pressures in order to resist any policy change which is unwelcome. Sacred Heart successfully survived the savage cuts and closures in the late sixties and seventies through these sorts of strategies. It might well be able to use the Catholic strand as a defence in any future battle. In any event, within any minority community, the impulse for survival is strong and the fact of longevity sustains this position.

Related to this is the fact that Sacred Heart's 'raison d'être' is the provision of Catholic teachers for Catholic schools. This is established in its Statutes and is upheld by the CEC. For example, when the college moved into providing diversified degrees in the seventies, it was strongly reiterated by the College Governors and the CEC that, although diversification was inevitable and in many ways was a welcome addition to the life of the College, the main purpose and 'mission' of Sacred Heart was still to prepare Catholic teachers. This could, if

ever necessary, provide some powerful leverage. Although Church attendance has declined in recent years, many parents still choose Church schooling for their children for a variety of sometimes mistaken reasons. It is frequently asserted that discipline is better and educational standards are higher in Church schools, although this is not born out in any substantive study. However, it is a powerful discursive element in the repertoire of parental understandings about schools and can sometimes be cynically used by schools to enhance their position. More importantly however, if parents are still choosing church schools in large numbers (and it is possible to demonstrate that they are oversubscribed) this means that the various denominations have a powerful and large number of people who can be counted on to support their cause. This group may well become vocal and active if they can be mobilised round the issue of teacher education for their own schools.

Sacred Heart has had the tenacity to survive. It has had to manage in a setting of continual change and uncertainty and its own origins lie in adversity and overcoming discrimination. It has some built-in strengths which can be brought into play where useful: the provision of teachers for a strong faith community which has some powerful representatives in Westminster; a substantial 'voice' which can be orchestrated if necessary by the parents and governors of Church schools. The College and the Church might also be said to feel that they have 'God on their side'.

Sacred Heart has inevitably been shaped by the shifts in policy and legislation which have already been discussed and this has had outcomes which are common to all the surviving colleges. The moves from a two to a three year course, the moves towards an all-graduate teaching profession, diversification in the degrees awarded and the substantial growth in the PGCE, the constantly changing demands for more or less teachers at particular times, have been experienced in all the institutions. Nevertheless every institution has its unique features which give substance to its culture and in some ways may contribute towards its capacity to withstand and manage some parts of these continual and unrelenting sets of demands on teacher education. This culture will now be considered.

The college culture

Sacred Heart College resonates with many of the themes and elements which, as Taylor (69) and Alexander (84) suggest, typify the culture of the colleges of education, the old training colleges. Sacred Heart is set within its own spacious grounds in a prosperous middle class leafy suburb. The College consists of a central administrative area located in a grand and old country house. The house has a fascinating history with some splendidly lurid ghosts and intriguing specialist rooms and libraries. It is frequently used for film making, a source of welcome revenue. From the main house there are a series of interconnecting buildings and walk-ways which link the library, the Chapel and some of the lecture theatres. It is a residential college

so there are student halls located at the other end of the grounds and in nearby avenues. There is an atmosphere which is reminiscent of Taylor's "well worn stereotype.... in which a diluted form of gracious living was engaged in.... an impressive if educationally unsuitable and draughty building at the end of a mile long drive" (69:205).

It is worthwhile to take some time here to provide a contextual analysis of the college for this makes an important contribution to the ethos of Sacred Heart and is prominent in its advertising and student-recruitment packages. Superficially it might be argued that the culture of the college is based on a poor vignette of a version of education and college life derived from 'Brideshead Revisited' rather than based on contemporary requirements. There is perhaps a desire to emulate the Oxbridge ethos and a 'gentleperson's' life style. The names of large rooms in the historic part of the building which are in general use reflect this; for example, all full staff meetings are held in the Burnett Drawing Room. This room is lined with silks and matching swathes of curtains which set off the original chandeliers and the college's collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century art. Velvet-covered reproduction chairs are used to fill the room if a large meeting is to be held. Interestingly, interviews for intending students are either held here or in the equally impressive Longford Gallery which overlooks the private lawns reserved for academic staff to walk on. The Senior Common Room is housed in an oak-panelled salon which has been beautifully restored. The room is adorned by three superb chandeliers and some original and valuable 19th century oil paintings. There is a large, ornate fire place and an old oak servery where fresh coffee and biscuits in the morning and tea and cake, sandwiches or scones are served at afternoon tea.

Many of the colleges are located in these wonderful old houses and it is good that they are still serving a useful function. Certainly Sacred Heart needs the space provided by the old house although it is a financial burden. It has to be maintained at certain temperatures to preserve the ornate decorations, the silk wall-hangings and the paintings. But the relevance of the house in relation to this study is the manner in which this setting seems related to a code of behaviours and a college life which has persisted for many years. This is more evident when some of the customs and traditions of the college are considered.

The term names themselves are redolent of Oxbridge. The students go up in the Michaelmas Term and go down after the Christmas Ball and College Feast. They come back in the Lent Term and the final term is celebrated by the all-night Summer Ball, also called the Going Down Ball. Photographs of these balls, held in the historic house, are contained in the college prospectus. They are black-tie formal occasions and start with a sherry reception, then move on to a sit-down meal. After speeches and 'the loyal toast' the students move out of the refectory and drift across the illuminated lawns to enter the drawing rooms to take port with the college principal.

Perhaps it could be argued that these features are part of the life of many of the colleges in the late eighties and early nineties. Perhaps it could be argued that these grand occasions are superficial and extraneous to the academic life of the College and just supply the periphery for niche-marketing. I want to argue that it is more complex than this. Sacred Heart is indeed an old college with many long-established and persistent traditions, and traditions do have a strong part to play in sustaining an ethos and in constructing continuity over time. However, the effect of some of these particular social markers is to sustain a particular discourse about what college is all about, to effectively create a 'habitus' which shapes as well as constrains thought, and all this weaves in and out of other more fundamental matters in the academic sphere.

An alternative but similar way in which to conceptualise this would be in relation to Barthes work on myth. Barthes (72) has argued that strong 'signs,' like the many photographs of the balls in the college brochure, and the stress on the historical 'grand' house in which the college is partly located, are more than mere representation. They carry a signifying element. Barthes believes that unspoken yet dominant beliefs and values, images of power and authority are contained in what he calls 'signs'. Very briefly then, these signs relate to strong messages which are class specific. College is certainly a middle-class enterprise with shades of 'gentrification' in evidence. There is an implicit acceptance of the status-quo and an acceptance of a life-style where gentlemen escort ladies on their arms to sip fine wines and discuss trivia. Politics are very firmly excluded from this context. It is perhaps more important to be a 'gentleperson' than it is to be an academic. Certain values are dominant; those of stability, tradition, continuity and conservatism as well as heterosexuality and male dominance. (It is only possible to attend the ball if a 'lady' is escorted by a 'gentleman' and tickets are sold in this manner). All this is amplified in the college prospectus. Sacred Heart markets itself on these assumptions and beliefs. It is selling a life-style as well as an education.

Even more strongly perhaps the myth which is being constructed through these strong signifiers is related to a belief in a natural order of things where certain people sit at the 'top table' (the 'top table' for staff was only set aside in 1987). Where there is a clear hierarchy in which everyone knows and accepts their place this will have implications for decision making. So any myth or signification is not as benign as might have been thought. This hierarchy is reflected in the manner in which the college has set up its internal structures for conducting meetings. For many years the college discussed issues in the Academic Council which was equivalent to an open staff meeting. However, it was always chaired by the principal or vice-principal who formulated the agenda. So it was always fairly easy for senior staff to 'manage' these meetings. In 1986, a small group of staff managed to organise, lobby and present papers in order to reconstitute the chair and agenda-setting in a more democratic manner. The motion was 'lost', the overwhelming majority of the staff voted to allow the senior management to control

and direct the Academic Council. The vote, as well as the discussion of the issue, was taken in the presence of senior management.

What I am arguing is that all of these social markers, these traces of 'Oxbridge' are not merely decorative non-functional aspects to life at Sacred Heart. They are woven into the very fabric of the college, they make up its very 'habitus' and they inhabit a particular set of discourses. For example, it is important not to be 'too political'. The College branch of the dominant trade union for this sector, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) is generally inactive. In a large branch which had over one hundred members throughout the eighties, only a small core of tutors kept the branch alive, many of them holding two officer posts in order to function. Union membership is defensive, 'in case you need a lawyer' rather than participative and proactive. Within the education department and the newly-formed faculty of teaching studies there is an exceptionally low union membership rate in relation to other departments and a very low participation rate.

One more important facet of college life which is part of the 'habitus' is a strong masculine and paternalistic vein which runs through all interactions and invades every facet of academic and cultural life at Sacred Heart. For example, there has been a discernible trend whereby ex-students have been recruited to teach at the college and these have generally been male. There is a strong old-boys network which is clearly attested to by staff members. It is interesting to speculate whether this is as a result of the colleges' origins as an all-male college or due to a degree of paternalism which attaches to Roman Catholicism and centres on the priests (who work in management as well as in various departments). There is a certain legacy of passivity and obedience which may well be brought to the college by staff who carry with them feelings of respect for 'the men of the cloth' and it might be that this is not challenged by the internal workings of Sacred Heart .

An interesting element in the College culture relates to the aspirations it sets itself and to the level of self-esteem within which it holds itself. What I am arguing is that institutions are made up of a collection of interests, conflicts, contradictions, beliefs and aspirations and that these are not attitudes which are maintained in a neutral vacuum. The institution may well be 'sick' or 'healthy' and this will be to do with clusters of factors and variables related to beliefs in purpose, morale and aspiration. So elements such as confidence in senior management, concern and dismay about central government policy proposals, sometimes even just liking and respecting colleagues, as well as a belief that the job is worth the doing, all contribute to the ethos and well-being of an institution.

Historically Sacred Heart has had strong links with a local university and was awarded first degrees at a very early stage. It has always aspired to academic 'respectability' and the legitimisation it has believed that a university could confer. The college was very pleased after

the McNair Report to work more closely with the university on its Teachers' Certificates and eventually its BEd degree. It is interesting, that when the university no longer wanted or needed to validate the work of the smaller colleges, Sacred Heart negotiated with another university rather than work with the CNAA (where many of the colleges and polytechnics moved) for validation. The college regards its university links as very important. This relationship is flagged on all letter headings as well as being stressed in the college prospectus. Sacred Heart markets itself in relation to the university sector rather than the polytechnic, and this may well relate to a belief in the superiority and cachet of the university degree.

In a sense the college has been caught between two different sets of historical and political influences which have produced sets of tensions about purpose and function. Sacred Heart, like all the old training colleges, has shifted from having a monotechnic role in teacher education to a pluralist function where general undergraduates are taught alongside intending teachers. In terms of the culture of the college this change has had other consequences. Becoming a teacher has traditionally been constructed through a set of overlapping myths, rituals and routines which became institutionalised in the culture of the old training colleges. There has been a traditional stress on apolitical perspectives and a focus on a reified 'child'. The student teacher has been 'advised' to 'fit in' with the requirements of the teaching practice school in relation to dress codes and behaviour. Until fairly recently, student teachers with regional accents or working class speech patterns would be 'offered' elocution lessons. The life of the student teacher followed a fairly systematic pattern of college-based work leading to the school practice. The pattern and routine of college life would mirror the world of the school, rather than the university. Half terms were replicated in 'reading weeks'. Teaching practice was a fixed annual experience, an important 'rite of passage' which necessarily matched the school term. The college-based pedagogy was frequently of a form which students recognised as similar to a traditional sixth-form didacticism. The form of paternalistic student supervision in halls of residences with resident wardens, tight rules relating to visiting hours and an emphasis on conformity in patterns of sexuality and morality were all part of becoming a teacher. However, all this contradicted the expectations of other undergraduates who expected independence and freedom from any invasive influence in their non-academic college world and certainly in their halls of residence. In the diversified colleges there were now conflicting discourses round what Foucault (79) has called 'patterns of normalisation'.

Foucault has argued that modern society is a disciplinary society characterised by the centrality of various institutions which exert control over our lives such as schools, colleges, hospitals, courts of law. Each one of us is individualised and a form of power-knowledge constructs our consciousness in order to facilitate an almost tacit control where we are led into specialisms and made to conform to a process of 'normalisation'. Foucault recognises that power-knowledge is not a coercive model of domination but rather a 'micro-physics' of power, a

network of power relations which is constantly worked and reworked by different people, in different ways, to maintain a mode of 'normalisation'. And normalisation relates to what is not abnormal - what is 'correct' - in the various social discourses we inhabit. Social institutions speak these normalising discourses and are in turn maintained by these. Institutions have at their command a range of normalising procedures and key personnel through which the process can be legitimated and internalised. For Foucault, the device of the examination which combines the capacity to observe and make a normalising judgement is crucial in all this. So too is the manner in which time is structured and transformed into 'units of utility'.

All this can be seen in the institution of the college for training teachers. There is a normative view of the school-teacher as moral functionary in society, as gatekeeper and judge. Thus, the production of the teacher must involve careful moral, social and intellectual testing and examination. The ritualising of the teaching practice, the codes of behaviour, dress, speech and conduct which historically has been demanded of the teacher, the way in which the college day was marked to fully occupy the time of the prospective teacher, where time was clearly related to utility (as indeed it would be in the future life in classrooms) indicate conforming procedures. But where an institution has to engage in normalising judgements of a different nature then different discursive strategies are employed. The discourse of the university where students choose to attend rather than have their presence noted in a register, the normalising expectations of individualised, private enquiry, autonomy and experimentation are historically at odds with the discourses of what it is to be a teacher. These competing sets of discourses which surround being a student-teacher and being an undergraduate have been part of the 'micro-physics of power' which has produced a somewhat contradictory set of normalisation processes in a diversified college.

There are differences too in the student intake. Nationally, teaching has not been valued as a career for academically-oriented school leavers. The traditional values in teaching are represented in the myths which surround it, such as 'teachers are born, not made' and 'we teach children not subjects' which is particularly relevant in the BEd and primary sector. Teaching has been associated with 'nice girls who are not too bright' (Whitty et al 87). Teacher education has sometimes been seen as an alternative way into higher education for the sixth former whose 'A' level grades were disappointing. It has also been seen as 'a nice job for a girl' because it will 'fit in with her life when she starts her family'. Obviously all this is an oversimplification since the advent of the PGCE, the pressures of the recession and an upturn in student-teacher recruitment. However, in Sacred Heart College it seems that different status attaches to the different routes; the PGCE has been described by one tutor as the prestige route which attracts the 'best tutors' and better resourcing. It is the 'Rolls Royce Route'. The students are 'better' because they are already 'proper' graduates from universities or polytechnics. This suggests that there has been a 'fragmentation' in the culture of teacher education as well as

within the wider cultural setting of the older colleges, with different myths and rituals being introduced to meet the shift in purpose and role which has come because of diversification. It may well be that one group of undergraduates, the student teachers and their tutors, form a subordinate and low-esteemed group, while the remaining undergraduates command greater prestige. There is further segmentation within teaching studies itself, with BEd primary and secondary students being subordinated to the prestige PGCE groups and tutors.

At Sacred Heart there is a legend which survives in the senior common room that the college management have always had a secret desire to run the first Catholic university in the country. Diversification and the authority to teach traditional degree subjects without any educational strand was welcomed for these sorts of reasons. The college quickly developed a package of Masters courses although these were all intended for serving teachers and has recently been permitted by the university to commence a small doctoral programme (although these have had to be individually negotiated).

Sacred Heart College displays many of the themes and elements which typify the culture of the colleges of education. It is relatively easy to articulate some of the ways in which the college certainly does seem to want to reach back into a form of gracious living set within a borrowed Oxbridge ethos. It is far more complex and perhaps impossible to elicit why this has occurred. It may in part be due to the desire of an historically discriminated-against minority to assert itself by modelling itself on what it has taken to be the dominant hegemonic model in higher education. It may relate to a lack of self-esteem through its occupancy of a low-status position in what has always been, in England and Wales at least, a very hierarchical and stratified sector. However, to reiterate a point, an institution is a living entity made up not only of its historic legacy and its desires and aspirations but is shaped too by the daily interactions of the people who work and study there. For this reason it is now useful to examine the staff profile of Sacred Heart College.

Chapter 5

The College Staff

Organisational changes

One of the advantages of undertaking research in an institution like Sacred Heart, where the past is respected and preserved, is that there is a wealth of documentation readily available for scrutiny. The college has always published a staff handbook which has been retained in the library so it is a simple matter to work through this collection in order to give substance to any commentary on staffing patterns over time. However, there have been some difficulties in attempts to tease out any patterns or formations which have developed historically.

What has recently occurred in the college is that complex internal restructurings have taken place which have obscured the 'easy' classification of staff. The shift from a departmental model to a faculty structure has taken place and since 1991 the staff lists have been displayed in faculty groupings rather than in department clusters. Many tutors have been included in two faculties. For example, a tutor who teaches pure science to the BSc students might also run the primary science seminars for intending teachers and thus be included in two faculties. If classified in this manner, the teaching studies faculty is the largest and might be expected to wield most power. What is not shown, however, is where lecturers' loyalties lie and where their interests reside. Are they interested in teacher education? Or is it a specified part of their job description which they are obliged to fill?

In the past, Sacred Heart might most appropriately have been described as an amalgam of two organisational models; an informal non-hierarchical model where communication would be 'by word of mouth' and sponsorship would be used to promote individuals; and the 'constellation' model where some talented individuals would be able to chart their own course with minimal management intervention (Handy and Aitken 86). In a small college this loose, informal process could facilitate flexibility and could lend support to weaker colleagues but it could also delay decision making and promote a form of laissez-faire autonomy. For example, "it was quite common for the wishes of Heads of Departments to be neglected" (Tutor's essay 90).

I can remember being quite shocked on coming from the hierarchical structure of an LEA Education department to hear a colleague at Sacred Heart, when asked by her Head of Department to undertake some minor duty, simply reply 'No' and continue her conversation with me while he wandered off to find some more receptive ear.

(Tutor's essay 90)

This loose form of organisation was obviously not going to be capable of responding to the demands and challenges of the eighties and nineties. As Lacey (85) has noted, the emphasis from the Conservative Governments throughout the eighties was to press for a bureaucratised form of control as professionals could no longer be trusted to ensure quality assurance in a cost effective manner. This had specific outcomes in higher education institutions. The colleges had to alter their internal structures to respond to these new thrusts. A system of line management needed to be established and instead of an ad-hoc 'constellation' model, a 'role model' formation had to be established where staff had clearly defined job descriptions or "spheres of competence" Lacey (85).

In the past when Sacred Heart had been a monotechnic institution, all the tutors were involved in teacher education. There were subject departments concerned with content and teaching method courses, there was also an education department which covered the traditional disciplines of educational studies. But everyone supervised students on teaching practice in school. The rationale for teaching and working in the college was underpinned by the needs of the school teacher. There was rivalry between departments in vying for resources and there were micropolitical disputations about status, power and resources. For example, the physical education department was clearly regarded as non-cerebral and consigned to the sports hall area of the campus. At one time it was actually part of the unwritten code of staff conduct that no tutor would enter the senior common room in a track suit. This simple device had a very powerful effect in marginalising these tutors. However, after diversification in the seventies, new power formations sprung up. This was an unintended consequence of new patterns of staffing. As the university had to be satisfied about the academic rigour of the new degree courses, more traditionally academic staff were recruited who had no intention of ever working in a school and who identified more with the culture of the university academic. Their focus was towards publishing and academic credibility; the college appointment was frequently seen as a first step, a stage towards a university post.

While this diffused staff profile was developing, internal restructuring was also on the agenda. The attempt at restructuring was debated hotly for some time but by the mid-eighties it was clear that change would have to occur. By the late eighties the faculty structure was a reality. (Interestingly, the head of the PE department became the dean of the science faculty which was an important status gain for PE). Management meetings now occurred between the deans and the principal, academic vice-principal and the third vice principal. This key group now made decisions on policy which were typically forced through the consultation process on the basis of financial necessity. For example,

A plan for modularisation of degree courses agreed only in principle by the Academic Board was presented in detail at a meeting for all staff called at a few days notice in the final week of term. The necessity for it being put through without delay was argued by the Dean of Teaching Studies and queries about

the suitability of the model quashed on the grounds of shortage of time. The support of the staff was sought and, from a mixture of long standing loyalty to the college and/or an acknowledgement of the futility of resistance, the majority of staff voted in support. The meeting lasted little over an hour.

(Tutor's essay 90)

What happened was that an informal and perhaps idiosyncratic model of organisation was sharply moved towards a crisp, authoritarian, highly specialised and remote structure where decisions were to be taken by senior managers and fed down the line to be implemented at the grass roots. Management's job was to manage; the staff were merely enactors of policy. And, of course, the effects of all this would be monitored through the mechanism of staff appraisal. What also occurred was that individual tutors' work loads were now more carefully calculated. Under the new PCFC arrangements of the 1990s it became essential to monitor staff costs, the highest expenditure in any educational institution. It became necessary to ensure that each tutor worked to capacity; that is, that each tutor fulfilled their contractual obligations in terms of hours taught. Again, in a very real sense, what occurred was what Foucault (79) has described as the control of activity through the structuring of time and the transformation of time into units of utility. These changes meant that the tutor was pressed

to seek to intensify the use of the slightest moment, as if time in its very fragmentation were inexhaustible or as if, at least by an ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend towards an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency.

Foucault (79:154)

What occurred was a 'tightening up,' a 'ratcheting up' of the work of the tutor. Under the old regime of academic autonomy, lecturers were supposed to work to the conditions of service as outlined in the NATFHE Silver book. There was a maximum contact time of seventeen hours with up to thirty hours a week of service to include 'college related duties'. There was some space allowed for remission from teaching to allow for additional administrative duties. Each year, individual lecturers had to submit a personal account of their time to the academic vice-principal. There was no uniform system and tutors reported in a variety of ways. Senior common room gossip would focus on what were, for some tutors, reputed to be 'great works of fiction' on this annual occasion. However, for the staff most intimately concerned with preparing teachers, staff-student ratios were always high and contact hours were maximised to meet the requirements of CATE. Ungenerous time-allocations for teaching practice supervision, less remission of time for administration and heavier marking loads because of larger group numbers all meant that teaching study tutors were hard pressed during the eighties and into the early nineties. (But, because of Government pressures to increase higher education participation rates without much additional funding, the position has shifted and all tutors are increasingly hard pressed).

Staff structures in the Teaching Studies faculty

At Sacred Heart, in addition to the faculty dimension, there was an attempt to build into the teaching studies faculty another cumbersome and incredibly complex level of organisation where everyone worked to one another, everyone had a grand title related to their managerial responsibilities and no one seemed to have much day-to-day responsibility for what occurred. Within the core of the faculty, there exist course directors for the PGCEs and the BEs. There are assistant course directors. There are curriculum co-ordinators, year-group leaders, co-ordinators for language, maths and science. There is a schools placement officer. There is also the dean and assistant dean. Out of a small faculty of twenty-six core people, most of them hold at least one title, some hold two. Thus there is great potential for loss of internal cohesion as well as rivalry. It is not always clear who holds ultimate authority in any context. This can result in a variety of micro-political disputations. It can cause problems where time is continually contested. For example, if you head the language team and you are also a year co-ordinator, or if you lead the early years programme and run in-service, how much time are you given for administration? How much remission is this worth? How much secretarial back up do you need? All these issues are ripe for contestation.

Most recently, issues related to pay and conditions of service have taken a fascinating turn. The issue of remission of time for administration work has largely withered away. Even when it has been given, it never seems enough to handle the job. Time is at a premium for all these tutors, which may explain in part why they are less likely to publish, attend conferences or attempt PhDs. Although time is a powerful dimension in relation to job, status and 'capacity to just survive', the issue of money is even more potent. All the tutors are on the senior lecturer grade as is customary in a college of higher education. Yet the post of principal lecturer (PL) has almost vanished from the scene. In the eighties it would be customary for the course directors to have a PL grading although it was never mandatory. What now happens is that as particular people retire from key posts, their jobs are advertised at senior lecturer (SL) grade plus an 'emolument' which is to be negotiated at interview. This means that some tutors receive payments, which are never publicly discussed. Each holder of an emolument will not know what other holders are getting for taking on additional responsibility. The internal structures have become twisted, inverted and overlapped in order to preclude any form of collectivism. The tutors are constituted as individuals who negotiate their salaries with management.

Staff profile

There are perhaps two stories about the staffing of Sacred Heart. One is the tale of non-specialist involvement with the preparation of school teachers in an ad-hoc manner based on custom and practice. The later story is of increased specialisation and demarcation of jobs. In part this has been facilitated by the CATE criteria which explicitly says who can and cannot

work on the educational courses of intending teachers and supervise in schools. Within the college this has become fragmented and stratified by the generation of the faculty structure which incorporates the 'old' departments. Somewhat cynically, it could be argued that the faculty structure signalled the effective 'death' of the education department while leaving space for traditional subject department autonomy to persist.

Since the development of the new structures, the education department, headed by the assistant dean has met only once. It is regarded as a defunct department and this has consequences for its members. For example, any tutor in the geography department who works to the head of geography as well as undertaking some teaching studies work has a powerful advocate outside teaching studies to intercede on their behalf, to interrupt excessive teaching demands and to promote their development. (Tutors who were able to choose whether to move into the faculty or remain in a subject department like English or Mathematics, frequently chose to stay within the subject department which had more cachet and gave the tutors more space to manoeuvre). Inside the faculty of teaching studies, the tutors from the education department have less leverage. Indeed, since diversification, these tutors have lost much of the power, status and eminence they once held in the college. Diversification has inserted a competing and conflicting discourse into institutional practices. What these changes in structure and staffing have achieved is a shift in relation to role, power and authority in the college.

After diversification the education department which historically had 'called the shots' in terms of the courses and the timings/placing of teaching practice in the academic year, now had to bend to the requirements of non-teaching undergraduates who had to undertake field work or specialist visits, sometimes in education studies time. The education department, which had always been the most generously staffed, was now subjected to closer scrutiny in order to see what cuts could be made in order to staff the new degrees. For the first time the educationalists were under siege by other tutors. Certainly the education department believed itself to be under threat in the early eighties. Some well-established department members were due to retire in the next few years and concerns were expressed that their posts would be 'frozen' on retirement. Internal documents were circulated which argued that some of the educational work could be handled just as well in other departments and that greater reductions could be made in education to facilitate the 'beefing up' of subject departments, particularly the humanities, which were recruiting well. A Green Paper (so called because it was green) had been prepared by three members of the staff who were not in the education department. The paper proposed three new advanced educational studies courses for the final year of the BEd which would be taught outside the education department by the authors of the green paper. (Green Paper 84). The education department worked hard to scupper the green paper which they were eventually able to manage. But they were under siege and very demoralised.

At this point it seems useful to include a table which illuminates a part of the story of the staffing pattern (see fig. 4). This clearly highlights the 'difficult years' of the mid to late eighties.

YEAR	ALL STAFF	EDUCATION DEPT.	ED DEPT AS % OF ALL	MALE ED. DEPT	FEMALE ED. DEPT.
74-75	117	27	23	20	7
75-76	117	27	23	20	7
76-77	118	27	23	20	7
77-78	119	28	24	20	8
78-79	119	30	25	21	9
79-80	120	32	27	22	10
80-81	120	31	26	21	10
81-82	120	32	27	22	10
82-83	120	29	24	20	9
83-84	120	25	20	18	7
84-85	120	24	20	17	7
85-86	112	23	20.5	16	7
86-87	106	14	13	9	5
87-88	105	21	20	13	8
88-89	104	19	18	12	7
89-90	104	18	17.2	9	9
90-91	102	18	17.6	9	9
91-92	102	18	17.6	9	9

Figure 4 Staffing at Sacred Heart for 1974 to 1992

This shows a pattern of slow decline for the education department, although there have been some minor hiccups in this trend. The total membership of all staff has also been shifting downwards so it might be thought that the education department was experiencing the same problems as other departments but the situation is more complex, as the percentage column indicates. In 1985-86 the psychology department closed, in 1989 the French department closed and in 1990 physics and chemistry combined to become the physical science department. Certain departments gained additional staff, in particular computer studies which expanded and was changed to information technology. So the downward drift was more visible in the education department. It had made some dangerous enemies in previous skirmishes over funding and staffing (Green Paper Days). The department provided a focus for institutional dislike; displacements were made onto the education department which served to unite other factions in the college. However, all this is another story.

What is also fascinating to trace is the ratio of men to women on the staff of the education department. Until recently, women have always been in the minority although the number of women students has long exceeded the number of men students. And even the figures above (see Fig. 4) do not totally reflect the real situation because some of the male members of staff who do most of their work in teaching studies have themselves recorded as members of other

departments (91-92 figures). For example, the male head of the Secondary BEd is listed in a subject department although he does not teach this subject at all. However, this is the listing as it appears in the staff handbooks.

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Full-time	14	12	26
Part-Time	30	18	48
Total	44	30	74

Figure 5 Distribution of staff in the Faculty of Teaching Studies 1991-1992

Of a total of 74 tutors who are involved to some degree in the preparation of teachers, 44 are men and 30 are women (Fig. 5). What it also shows is that in a small college of 102 tutors, nearly 75% of them have some relation, however limited, to the job of teacher education. It might be supposed from this that teacher education is very highly-valued in the college and is accorded a dominant status.

Staff perspectives on the job of teacher education

In the previous chapter I discussed the patterns in staffing which existed in the sixties (Taylor 65, Robbins Report 66). In order to establish whether there were any similarities in the contemporaneous staff-profile at Sacred Heart, I attempted a form of replication of Taylor's work towards the end of my investigation through the use of a questionnaire (see appendix 2). In order to collect data which would give insight into some fundamental aspects of working in the college, I decided to use a questionnaire which would elicit some fairly superficial data such as length of service, range of institutions (including schools) where previously employed, sex and age grouping in order to see to what degree the pattern of employment in the nineties complemented that of the mid-sixties and mid-eighties (HMI 87). The questionnaire was developed, piloted with tutors in two different institutions, revised, then distributed to all seventy-four members of the teaching studies faculty. Subsequently, thirty of these were returned although one was not usable (see fig 6).

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Full-time	10	9	19
Part-time	5	5	10
Total	15	14	29

(part-time = tutors who work part-time in teaching studies/part-time in a subject discipline).

Figure 6 Faculty of Teaching Studies 1991-1992 Responses to questionnaire - raw data

Although the response rate overall has only been average, when this is represented in percentages (see Fig. 7) the response from full-time faculty members is very high. The

significantly reduced return from part-time faculty tutors may indicate a number of things; lack of time and pressure of work; reduced interest in teaching studies; and perhaps lack of willingness to supply some of the information.

	MEN	WOMEN	ALL
Full-time	7.1	7.5	7.3
Part-time	16.6	27.7	20.8
Total	3.4	46.6	39.1

Figure 7 Percentage of responses from the Faculty of Teaching Studies 1991-1992

I was particularly interested to see if there were any patterns in relation to gender and school-based experience, gender and research, publication profile, number of institutions worked in, previous educational experience and possible connection to the college. I was also interested in the reasons which people gave for moving into the college sector. Generally my findings were fairly predictable; for example, gender differentiation over many variables could clearly be discerned. However, what was most surprising and interesting were the strong relationships between many tutors and the college prior to appointment. This would certainly ensure some form of continuity in culture and ethos if nothing else. It also indicates a form of professional 'sponsorship' within teacher education.

	MEN	WOMEN
Full time	80	100
Part time	100	60

Figure 8 Percentage of teaching studies staff who have only worked in one institution

The vast majority of the staff have only ever worked in one institution and this is their first appointment (see Fig. 8). However, this is not really surprising. People tended to move from school into the college sector after a sustained teaching career and because of the requirements of recent and relevant experience, combined with the dearth of 'sideways' appointments, it does seem as if this pattern of 'single institutional experience' employment will persist. One of the respondees actually commented that she had been 'too old' for promotion in schools and felt lucky to have been appointed to a college at her age.

All this does create a range of tensions for any institution; if there is little or no 'fresh blood' or no-one to challenge received wisdom, then change may be harder to facilitate. It may lead to a form of institutional inertia. Myth-making will persist in a largely uninterrupted manner. This becomes even more worrying when college appointments favour people who already have connections with the institution. 57% of all the women respondees had previous connections with the college; for the men this figure rose to 60%. Of the full-time women faculty members, 63% had some connection; for the men the figure was 60%. This previous connection might have

been as a student of the college. For some, the relationship had been established through their LEA appointment as a teacher fellow, following which, they were recruited onto the staff. For others, the connection was through teaching-practice links and school-college partnerships. It is clear then that although posts are advertised, a degree of sponsorship does seem to apply (but this may well be common to other colleges).

One interesting figure which emerged was related to the educational experience of the tutors. In relation to higher research awards, 14% of the women had a PhD whereas 33% of the men had been awarded this degree.

	MEN	WOMEN
College of HE	54%	86%
University	46%	14%

Figure 9 Higher educational background

Many of the tutors have themselves been to a small College of Education (see Fig. 9) and have moved from the Cert. Ed. route, through a Diploma and Masters award, which is where the majority have stopped - at least for the moment (although while I was working in the field not one full-time member of the faculty was registered for a doctorate). Of the tutors with PhDs who returned the questionnaire, only one works full-time in the faculty of teaching studies. This may send wider signals to the student body and the college; for instance, in the staff handbook most of the tutors in the subject departments hold PhDs. This discrepancy may cause some devaluing of teaching studies and indeed of education.

There is a further discrepancy in terms of academic 'credentialising' when the statistics related to publication are examined (see Fig. 10). This does look more dramatic, displayed in percentages but it may tell a tale in relation to staff work-load in the college, valuing of staff and support given to staff. It does also need to be remembered that one publication by every secondary tutor, perhaps over a long career, will give this sort of result so the data does need careful handling.

	MEN	WOMEN
Full-time primary	0	0
Full-time secondary	100	100
Part-time	80	100

Figure 10 Percentage of the teaching studies staff who have published (1992)

What is less contentious is the length and range of experiences in school which are part of the staff profile. It is particularly relevant in the contemporary setting where conservative politicians and members of the radical right are claiming that college courses are largely irrelevant and there is a need for experienced teachers to organise teacher training. Sacred

Heart is staffed by tutors with a wide range of school-teaching experience. (Indeed this may well be broader than what is offered in many schools, particularly where retention is difficult and there are less experienced teachers to draw upon). As Diane Cameron, tutor at Nene College, said in response to a major discursive assault on teacher education made by Kenneth Clarke at the North of England Conference in January 1992.

The group of people Mr Clarke has now chosen to rubbish as ideologues have worked in real classrooms with real children for many years. They not only have a proven record of successful classroom practice, they have often been exceptionally skilled teachers, many of whom have become headteachers.. We gained our appointments to posts in teacher-training because we were credible in schools and classrooms.... [we] spend much of [our]time working closely with students and teachers in schools and advocate the use of a variety of teaching methods..Many of (us) have carried out [our] own classroom research on such topical concerns as assessment, classroom control, the teaching of reading, science and computer technology.

(TES 24.1.92)

This is also true of the teaching studies staff at Sacred Heart. The average time spent in a school for the women tutors was 14.2 years and for men tutors was 12.3 years. Of the full-time women members of the teaching studies faculty, there was only one tutor who had taught for less than ten years. Out of the group of full-time men tutors, again only one tutor had taught for less than ten years. Four full-time women and six full-time men tutors had taught for fifteen years or more. However, in the groups of tutors who worked for the teaching faculty for only part of their time, the men had only worked for an average of five years while the women had taught in a school for an average of 12.3 years. What this demonstrates is that among the central members of the faculty there is a great deal of practical experience. What is also useful to note is the relatively short time many of these tutors have been at the college which means that they clearly have recent and relevant experience (see Fig. 11).

	MEN	WOMEN	ALL
Full-time	5.4	4.1	4.75
Part-time	13.7	7.8	10.75
Total	9.5	5.9	7.75

Figure 11 Average years of service at Sacred Heart

This type of chart is always a little deceptive. Averages tend to distort underlying patterns and anomalies can skew results. For example, one of the part-time women members and two part-time men have all worked at the college for over twenty-five years. However, what is important to note in relation to raw scores is that ten of the fourteen women have got five or less years college experience and of the men tutors, nine out of fifteen are in the same position. This seems to contradict the HMI (87) survey findings which suggested that college staff had more experience than this. But importantly, this data was collated eight years after the first CATE

criteria were imposed which had implications for teaching studies staff who have had to be recruited with reference to their school-teaching experience. Perhaps even more importantly this has meant that in Sacred Heart College and indeed, in many other colleges where this staffing turnover has occurred, the middle-range tutors, the 'stayers' with longer experience of working in a problematic sector, have all vanished. This may well have important consequences for the culture, mythology and wisdom of teacher education.

As older, experienced staff who worked through the difficult seventies and early eighties have taken early retirement, been 'Crombied' or moved to work on a part-time basis, their roles have been filled by a new group of teacher educators, fresh from school with a tendency to privilege their own practical experience without much knowledge of the history and politics of their new sector. This might well result in a further fragmenting within college. It could be that a group of 'new tutors from school', the 'new kids on the block', will attempt to assert a new formation or even attempt to displace older colleagues through a 'reification' of their practical experience which now displaces that of their longer serving colleagues.

The final aspect which I wanted to explore through the questionnaire was why individuals had moved into teacher education (see Fig. 12). As the number of my respondents was small it is not possible here to make any strong claims. In order to analyse the data which was collected through just one open ended question, I categorised the responses and just enumerated these in a similar manner to the work undertaken by Taylor (65). The results are very similar (see Fig. 3)

.Most of the tutors were pleased to move into a setting where they would be working with adults. They thought their conditions would improve. Some wanted more time for research, others just wanted to avoid what they saw as inevitable in school -based promotion - more administration and not enough teaching. The only tutor who saw his role in relation to his faith perspective said,

I was helping Catholic schools, the Catholic church and preserving the foundation of European Civilisation (vis Catholic Christianity) and witnessing to Christ - and of course to support my family and the congeniality of working in a Christian ethos with facilities for prayer and worship.

Another tutor commented, "Better pay, better conditions, time for research" and added ironically, in relation to the changes in conditions of service which occurred just as he started work at Sacred Heart, "Timing was never my strong point". However, there were many comments like "opportunity to pass on skills and enthusiasm", "interested in QTS students," "to teach what is really needed in schools for pupil development". This issue of concern for schools and links with schools was by far the most repeated category which seems to be at odds with various pronouncements from the Conservative Government and various New Right

organisations. It also gives an indication of commitment to public service as opposed to personal gain.

	WOMEN TUTORS	MEN TUTORS
Desire to teach subject	2	4
Improve school links	5	1
Desire to keep up teaching/pastoral work	4	4
Teaching to degree level	1	4
Personal satisfaction	4	1
Avoid arid admin work	2	2
Avoid headship	2	1
Work with adults	4	4
Research	3	3
Work with new teachers for school system	5	4
Autonomy in relation to schools setting	1	
Better pay	2	2
Escape insularity of school	1	
Fits domestic life better	1	1
To old for school promotion	1	
HE needs people like me		1
Desire to do Inset		2
More personal time		3
Possibility of travel		1
Get involved in management		2
Reasons of religion - support faith community		1
To have good relationships with students not children	1	

Figure 12 Reasons for entering teacher education

Conclusions

This chapter has provided an account of the changes which have occurred in the organisation and structure of the staffing at Sacred Heart College. I have drawn attention to the manner in which the job and status of teacher education has been circumscribed by changes in organisation within the college. Teacher education has been moved from the centre of the college to a supposedly equal but parallel position in relation to other undergraduate programmes but it has experienced real cuts in staffing and time allocation. The job of teacher education seems broadly to be done by men to women and, generally, although women have more practical experience than men, they have less academic qualifications than their male colleagues. The teaching studies tutors had chosen to move into this sector expecting the advantages of better conditions, easier teaching contexts and greater professional and personal satisfaction.

Introduction to Section Three

Teacher education was established and formalised through the work of the training colleges. These institutions were generally regarded as inferior to the universities and teacher education had to fight for a degree of academic credibility. But a central dilemma has always persisted in teacher education because of “the ambiguities of a curriculum embracing personal education and professional training” as well as a history which has “more in common instead with medieval craft guilds” and the apprenticeship system than the academic tradition of the university (Hencke 78:13). Teacher education has never quite attained the academic respectability or autonomy accorded to other professional training.

Ever since the start, teacher education has been bedevilled by pressures exerted by the state which quickly intervened and took control of this provision. Pressures related to rapid expansion, quickly followed by cuts and closures; issues of supply and demand set against issues of cost as well as quality, have characterised the history of teacher education and persist into the contemporary context. In part, this is because of historical conditions; teacher training was provided by the state for the teachers of the working classes in the state maintained sector. The trick was to manage to provide the quantity of teachers needed at a realistic price. The emphasis was on social control, morality and the transmission of the basic skills needed in the labour market rather than intellectual development. Teachers were trained, not educated, and their work in the elementary school was not regarded as a high-status occupation. The tutors in the training colleges were predominantly women and their job was regarded as less prestigious than, for example, teaching in a grammar school at least up until the early 1950s. The job of educating teachers was suitable for a woman, but not in any way comparable to university teaching. Men had to be persuaded into the occupation of teacher training.

The culture and traditions of the training colleges emphasised gentrification and respectability and these themes have persisted to influence the contemporary situation. One small denominational college provided a setting through which this culture could be illustrated. The social context and ethos of Sacred Heart College was described and parallels were drawn with earlier research on this topic (Taylor 65). The organisation and categorisation of teacher educators at Sacred Heart was evaluated and aspects of their career profiles were examined (see Coda for a discussion of the use of Sacred Heart as an illustrative setting).

Overall my intention, so far, has been to pull together some persistent features of teacher education which has been characterised by sometimes chaotic reaction to pressing circumstances, inadequate funding and short-term matters of expediency. Teacher education has been reactive rather than proactive and the running has always been made by civil servants on administrative grounds rather than academic imperatives. In all of this, the college tutors have been sidelined.

They have been regarded as less academic than their colleagues in the university sector and, when their institutions diversified, they were marginalised again through poorer conditions of service, higher student numbers and less time for academic activities than other colleagues.

I want now to focus more directly on the teaching studies tutors at Sacred Heart College in order to consider how these larger historical and cultural traditions still impact with their working lives. It is central to this investigation that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (Blumer 86:2) and so this study has attempted to elicit the perspectives of the social actors in the field (see appendix 3 for a methodological account). What I want to examine in this section, and the next, is the "swampy" or hidden side of working in teacher education (Schon 87:3). Tutors clearly have professional and theoretical commitments towards their work and these are part of what it is to be a teacher educator. These commitments differ between tutors and generate tensions and struggles over priorities. In attempting to understand how teacher education 'gets done' it is as important to analyse these on-going institutional tensions and struggles as it is the impact of history, policy and culture. Ball has described a way of conceptualising this 'darker side' of organisational life as a form of 'micropolitics'. He is interested in charting the underlying conflicts and tensions which influence daily interactions in institutions and focuses on the "interests of actors", "maintenance of control" and "conflict over policy" (Ball 87:19). He is concerned not to fall into a reductionist trap where every exchange is read as one of conflict. He wants to map out the different meanings which social actors hold about themselves, their interests and their advantages. He believes that it is impossible to understand social life in organisations without an examination of the sorts of "compromises, negotiations and trade-offs, as well as threats, pressure and underhand dealing, [which] have their part to play" (Ball 87:26). Micropolitical elements, he believes, are important in shaping decision-making, policy outcomes and informing the working lives of social actors.

In this section I am going to examine two aspects which seem to be particularly potent in relation to the power-politics of Sacred Heart. Doubtless there are many more but through a focus on two major strands, status and gender, it is hoped to indicate firstly the pervasive presence of these micropolitical categories and secondly point up the way in which these issues are important if not sometimes central to the job of educating teachers.

In the following two sections I will be drawing on some of the data collected from 1988 until 1992 in Sacred Heart. In order to provide clarity I have included a 'cast-list' of the social actors whose perspectives have provided the material for this study and their major responsibilities (see Fig. 13). Pseudonyms have been used throughout.

Father Ryan	Principal
Hugh Troughton	Senior Manager
Jenni Jowett	Dean of Teaching Studies
Dillard Woolfe	Assistant Dean of Teaching Studies
Cicely Mann	BEd Administrator
Louise Barton	Course Director PGCE Secondary
Jeremy Guinness	Course Director PGCE Primary
Patrick Belsen	Course Director BEd (now BA QTS) Secondary
Rose Swann	Course Director BEd (now BA QTS) Primary
Teaching Studies Tutors	
Ben Hunt	David Stubbs
Helen Lane	Susan James
Sinead McCann	Anna Woods
Tony Stevens	Jill Andrews
Eva Fitzgerald	Liz Wareing
Basia Kozloswka	Malcom Stanley
Julie Gordon	Marek Denbowicz
Paul Issacs	Graham Power
Philip Carey	Michael O’Gorman
Francis Casey	Andy Thomas
Lucy Stubbs	Head of a subject department
Tom Gordon	Subject tutor
Guy Falmer	Subject tutor
Jane Harding	Subject tutor
Kevin Coughlan	Head of a subject department
Clive Watts	Head of a subject department also in teaching studies faculty.

Figure 13 **Key participants from the staff of Sacred Heart 1988-1992**

Chapter Six

Status

In this chapter I will consider an aspect of college life and the work of teacher education which crucially affects the tutors in the teaching studies faculty. The job of educating the teacher, “whose intellectual education is different from, and within our class system bound to be seen as inferior to that of the traditional academic disciplines” Steedman (87:120), carries a lower status for all those involved, men and women, than the work of tutors who teach on other undergraduate courses. ‘Status,’ like gender, works as a powerful micropolitical discourse in Sacred Heart College as elsewhere.

Status

In this chapter I will be using the concept of ‘status’ as elaborated in the writings of Max Weber. Weber recognised the way in which the concept of class is tied to economic interests but he maintained that class structures in industrialised society were more complex. Essentially he argued that class power relates to another element - that of status. As Hughes (84:8) puts it,

Whereas class marks differences in economic power, especially in the market place and hence, has to do with inequalities in the distribution of opportunities, ‘status’ refers to differences in the social sphere, especially with regard to honour and prestige. All persons who are accorded the same estimations of honour and prestige, and who live in a similar ‘style of life’, belong to the same status group. On this definition a person’s social power derives from the amount of prestige given and is conceptually distinct from wealth and economic power.

The construct of status is obviously a powerful way of understanding many of the issues involved in any consideration of stratification within an occupational group. But what has to be underlined is the way in which status is arrived at. Prestige and honour in society are issues of collective judgement and as such are socially constituted. Status can only be given where there is a collective agreement that it is due. For this reason status has a “much more personal quality to it than the impersonality of class” (Hughes 84:8).

Educational provision in Britain evolved in a meritocratic and elitist manner. From the hierarchy of infants, junior, secondary, grammar in the school system to the equally stratified sectors in further and higher education of colleges, colleges of higher education, polytechnics and universities, different prestige has been accorded. Even within particular sectors there are additional markers of prestige; universities have been regarded as ‘red brick’ or ‘Oxbridge’, old or new. So it is not surprising that status differentials apply equally within, as well as among, educational settings.

Historically, teacher education was associated with the preparation of teachers for the elementary school and for this reason had a reduced status when compared with other higher educational courses. However, as teacher education moved from being a certificated route to becoming a graduate course, different pressures and competing demands have been applied.

Teacher education is Janus-faced. In the one direction it faces classroom and school, with their demands for relevance, practicality, competence, technique. In the other it faces the university and the world of research, with their stress on scholarship, theoretical fruitfulness and disciplinary rigour.

(Taylor 83)

Teacher education is a contradictory process. It is concerned with the practical, the non academic and it has, at the same time, a relationship with academic endeavour. In this chapter it is this tension between what is academic, and what is not, which will be explored.

Academic

The dissonance between academic and practical learning has a connection with the history of knowledge. In this country it has been traditional to regard certain disciplines and modes of thought as more rigorous, more intellectual, than others. Even in the universities, some subjects have carried more prestige than others. A reduced status has been attached to most subjects which have a practical element and the knowledge which has been most valued is that which relates directly to a classical academic tradition. This has had an obvious impact on teacher education.

Throughout any review of the history of teacher education and the structures in higher education to facilitate such education, there appears again and again the theme that the preparation of teachers, and of school personnel generally, even including educational leaders, is somewhat beneath the dignity of a university whose primary purpose is research, especially research in the academic disciplines.

(Cushman 77 quoted in Hopkins & Reid 85:85)

One of the major changes in the seventies was the move away from the monoteknical teacher training college towards diversification where, in order to survive, colleges developed a range of traditional subject-based degree courses. These were taught side-by-side with the new BEd degrees. A student doing a degree in English or History would study in classes alongside intending teachers. Teacher education was now a recognised 'academic' enterprise and the ingredient of 'academic rigour' now permeated education courses. To some it now seemed that the old binary line, the historic division between (lower status) public sector institutions and (higher status) universities, was being finally eroded.

However, there were embedded within all of this certain competing vocabularies (Rorty 86) which have persisted over time. One was concerned with preparing a teacher who would be a competent classroom manager, an effective practitioner. Another was concerned to develop a teacher-as-scholar. There was a concern with the development of rationality, theoretical knowledge and with developing an 'educated' person. At various times, one of these strands has dominated, or they have coexisted uneasily in relation to what is taken as 'effective' teacher education. Wideen (85) believes there has been a tendency for the practical version to prevail in the colleges while the academic model has characterised the university departments of education. What Wideen also argues is that this tension is also enacted in settings beyond the institutions and departments of education. Schools, the validating universities, and bodies like CATE, exercise influence and power over teacher education through an assertion of specific versions of what is meant by 'academic' as well as 'practical' and 'relevant'.

The tension between academic and non-academic is directly experienced by those who work in teacher education. The nature of their job demands that they are frequently in schools, if only to supervise students. In this context "where tacit knowledge and anecdotal information are perceived to be far more useful than theory" (Wideen 85:86) it is only too easy to focus on practical concerns. And indeed this is often expected by the class teacher and students on teaching experience. In direct contrast to this, inside the institutions, students are assessed by the validating bodies and the assessment is generally related to an ability to respond in writing; so examinations, reports, theoretical writings are used to mark out one student from another. It is notoriously difficult to credit classroom work in terms of degree classification, particularly where personal criteria of reflectiveness, capacity to adapt in different contexts, the degree to which a student has developed, all play a part in any assessment of the experience. So the result has been sometimes that well-qualified teachers might not necessarily be sound practitioners, just successful 'academics'. An adjunct to all this is provided by CATE where the demand that half of the time on any undergraduate teaching studies degree be spent on a main subject while the remaining time is to be spent on aspects of teaching studies; curriculum issues, practical experience and classroom management augments this tension.

What I am arguing is that this tension between 'academic' and 'non-academic' is not only institutionally-bound. It has a specific historic genesis and is articulated and rearticulated by powerful groups from outside the institutions. This occurs in an asynchronous manner related to particular political, ideological and economic factors. But even this is too simplistic. There are strands of discourses, threads of debates which interweave and yet break off at certain points. This is particularly the case in relation to the themes intertwined within what is involved in the practical working-out of the notion 'academic' as this has been undertaken by factions of the New Right. One strand is the classical-humanist view of theoretical knowledge. Echoes of this reverberate through the discourse which argues that all teachers need is to have a love

and knowledge of their subject, a traditional academic stance towards knowledge and pedagogy (O'Hear 88). The fascinating thing is that set against this, as a testimony to the times and the shortage of teachers, is a competing element of DES Rightist thinking which privileges practical experience over knowledge. Kenneth Baker's Green Paper 1987 on 'Qualified teacher status' - which argued that any mature person, with some experience of post 'A' level work, linked to practical experience, would make a satisfactory teacher - provides an alternative version of the 'good' teacher. But both have to teach a curriculum which is sliced into very traditional academic subjects.

As far as teacher education institutions are concerned, CATE sets the agenda for what is to count and what is not to count as 'academic'. So a student on an undergraduate course will spend half their time on a subject which is deemed relevant by CATE. In Sacred Heart, this has meant that sociology is no longer appropriate for intending school teachers but neither is classical studies; a course which considered Greek and Roman life and literature in translation. The subjects which are approved for teachers correspond to the National Curriculum. The reality is that relevant knowledge corresponds closely to a traditional version of knowledge, an 'old-humanist' perspective (Williams 65) at least for teachers prepared in institutions.

Within the institutions, 'academic' can be worked through in a variety of ways. It may well be evident in the weight which is given to certain student assignments over others. It might be that dissertations or formal written examinations carry the greatest weighting when calculating the class of degree to be awarded, and practical ideas for curriculum development or collections of schemes of work for classroom teaching count for less. It may well be demonstrated in the manner in which the timetable is constructed, in terms of which components are placed first or last. Teaching studies may have to be scheduled in order to meet the requirements of the subject teaching rather than the direct needs of the schools and students. It may be demonstrated in staff appointment procedures, where people are selected for posts on the basis of academic criteria; higher degrees and publications may be more important than school-based experience. It may be marked in the treatment of staff and the politics of the institution where the views of those regarded as 'academic' may prevail and shape the work of those not regarded as 'academic'.

In these sorts of ways, the discourse surrounding the construct 'academic' can speak powerfully to students and staff alike; these people are constituted by the discourse and respond accordingly. For teacher education students, this may indicate where to place the emphasis in their work. For teacher education staff, this may induce a need to legitimate themselves as 'academics'. Whatever the outcome in practice, the discourse of 'academic' is an invidious and powerful mechanism for regulation and control.

'Academic' in the college

What I want to consider is how the discourse of 'academic' is applied to and by various members of staff at Sacred Heart. 'Academic' has a specific meaning and a specific history which reaches right back to the gardens in which Plato did his teaching. From this, the term 'academic' has variously come to be attached to theoretical studies, specific subjects and occupations, and 'academics' have generally been accorded a specific status in society. However, as Foucault argues, there are no lineal sequential patternings in history or in the history of ideas. Rather, there is a series of discontinuities and disruptions. For example, in particular societies at certain times, to be an 'academic' has been regarded as socially abhorrent. At other times, it has been used to differentiate between different segments of workers. It has been used in a pejorative and commendatory sense.

In the first part of what follows I draw from discussions and interviews with tutors who are politically active within Sacred Heart; they are members of the academic board; they read all the policy documentation which comes into the college; they are highly respected by staff as well as management; they are well informed and key members of the senior common room. They recognise the distinctions drawn between academics and educationalists and their comments highlight the way in which teacher education has become 'low status' in Sacred Heart College. Philip and Anna work within the faculty of teaching studies; Lucy heads a subject department and is recognised as a skillful administrator. Tom is a sociology lecturer who does no work for teaching studies. Their views are canvassed by staff and management; they are party to insider-information about current developments; they are key actors at Sacred Heart.

(The data was collected before the publication of Circular 9/92 which requires the PGCE secondary course to be firmly based in schools, cutting back on the role of higher education).

Origins

What is evident from interviews and college documents available is that the expression 'academic' was not widely used at Sacred Heart until the late seventies. It was introduced to separate and lend status to different forms of work. It resulted from diversification. Lucy says,

What happened here in the late seventies, early eighties, was part of the thrust towards diversified programmes, a move away from the certificate of education into the degrees and the BSc degrees and so on. There were a lot of staff recruited then, me for one, who were brought in to get completely away from the teacher-training image, in other words people who had come up through research in universities. We didn't know anything about teacher education.... it was thought we'd need those sorts of people in order to get validation from the university. So in the early eighties that was the big move, to get validation and that was nothing to do with teacher training. So the emphasis was on getting over that hurdle and thus recruiting people who were not of the old teacher-training type. But of course there were still people

around of that kind who were still back in the old teacher-training college days.... I think a lot of these newer people who are still around on the academic side are ones who, in a sense, are causing problems.... there is a problem in terms of an institutional identity.

Lucy recognises various 'sorts' of people; the old teacher-training types, who have been edged out through various retirement-schemes and newer people, with PhDs who lend academic credibility to the new courses. Lucy does not actually like the expression 'academic' because she believes it suggests a hierarchy of courses where teacher education would be placed firmly at the bottom, but in denying this usage she confirms its existence. She argues that diversification has opened up greater possibilities for the old training-colleges who have seen a way to move away from the infamous but crumbling binary line.

I think as part of that diversification there seemed to be a.... would like to be, there are people in the institution who would like to see this as a mini university. So, running academic, and I don't like using that word, but that's the way they would use it, running academic courses of the type that might run in universities but joint-subject degrees rather than single-subject degrees. And I don't think we've moved on from there.

She believes that there are certain deep-running interests in the college which do not regard teaching studies as an equivalent subject area. However, she is aware of major shifts in government policy-making and recognises the dilemma that all small colleges of education face; the almost schizophrenia-inducing push to run teacher education courses and joint-degree courses with a contracting number of staff. She is aware that attitudes have to change towards courses and that any hierarchical ordering of courses as either 'academic' or 'non-academic' is not productive. While there has been a hierarchy which has exercised power in the past, she believes this is now shifting.

I certainly think there was but perhaps less so now because I think, if you like, from the bottom up we are realising that there shouldn't be that hierarchy. It's not one I subscribe to anyway.

Diversification altered the nature and character of the staff profile and the nature of the work undertaken in the college. But, for some tutors, there is an obvious lack of awareness of the problems in the academic/non-academic discursive formation. Philip, like Lucy, is aware of the changing national circumstances which underpinned his appointment.

The reason for my appointment was that they had to do something to turn the college as a whole away from just teacher-training into a diversified place that had, you know, some sort of academic credentials, that was the point at which I was brought in specifically to teach the academic.

And it was diversification which led to the word 'academic' being used as a commendatory label for a certain type of staff as well as being used to distinguish one course from another. Anna, who has worked in the college for a considerable time, thought that diversification was

in some ways a positive move but that there was a certain price to pay for this, and it was at the expense of the educational studies staff and their work.

Well of course it meant that people began to talk about, you must have highly qualified and academic staff and the word academic began to creep in. And academic apparently didn't really refer to anything we [the education department] were doing. It really referred to the things that subject departments were doing. So that now you use the phrase 'Well, so and so is doing all right in teaching studies but what about their academic work' So I think that a whole lot of linguistic usages have crept in that I think are interesting.

Although this section is considering the origins at Sacred Heart of the discursive formation 'academic', other related factors should be mentioned at this point. Discursive formations cannot easily be imposed. The extent to which a new discourse successfully implants itself in the popular conscious is related to the extent to which it 'makes sense' to the social actors concerned. It may well be that for some it was pleasing to designate themselves as 'academics' but there are other longer-running currents at work. The 'old-style teacher trainers' who worked at Sacred Heart before diversification occurred were mainly educated in teacher training colleges and would have been aware of the status attached to the different sectors in higher education. What now happened was that this hierarchy was transferred into Sacred Heart College and to be 'academic' was the preferred status. The 'old-style teacher trainers' still remained in a secondary position.

Contradictorily, there is a perspective in Britain recently revitalised in Conservative New Right populism which could be characterised as being anti-intellectual. A lively debate has taken place which argues that Britain has a bizarre attitude towards academic success. As Sir Claus Moser said in a presidential address to the British Association:

Children are often attacked for being too clever by half. Why is it in Britain that we are almost suspicious of people being too clever?

There is a sceptical attitude towards the 'academic' who is frequently attacked for being located in 'ivory towers' remote from real existence (Gipps 92). As Ball (92b:14) argues, running through much of what now passes for educational reform are "key themes and images".

One of the themes, which is a key feature of Majorism more generally, is an anti-intellectualism, a distrust of theory and research and over and against these the assertion of common sense; epitomised by John Major's "University of the streets".

(Ball 92b:14 & 15)

All this has consequences for those who work in teacher education. Some of the tutors may well be reworking particular discourses in order to defend their own psychological positions, their own sense of self-worth. If there is a perception that one group is of less value because it lacks

certain attributes, for example that teaching studies tutors are practical and not academic, then this group has a strong interest in decrying those supposed academic attributes, and antagonisms will emerge. But what is happening is a contradictory and contested set of shifts. The college tutors feel a need to be recognised as 'academics', while New Rightists like Sheila Lawlor and others in the Centre for Policy Studies are accenting the need for practical teacher training and so the practical has become a powerful leitmotif to be set against theory and the dangerous theorists. As Lawlor (92) says, "training was in the hands of those whose livelihood depended on the propagation of some educational theory or another.... some training colleges were centres for political indoctrination". Even if teacher training does move firmly into the classroom there is still a danger because, "the theorists will see it as their job to infiltrate theory into classroom practice" (Lawlor 92). For the tutors in teaching studies, there will be times when it is useful to be 'academic' and times when it is better to be 'practical'.

Tom, a sociologist with no direct connection with teacher education, makes this observation,

Its partly because the people involved in teacher education don't see themselves as fulfilling an academic role. I was quite keen on the idea that there should be somebody like a research officer, especially with responsibility focused on the teaching studies faculty. Someone who would coordinate and promote individual and group research in the teaching studies faculty, both within the college and outside the college. I think that's possible. In another area, the sociology of education is a low status area compared with lots of others. So everything associated with teaching and education will tend to be low status which I think is dreadful, disastrous. That's a component of the national culture. In other countries this is not the case, so its an enormous thing to fight against.

A commentary like this opens up a number of questions. The faculty members might not perceive themselves as 'academics' because, historically, this has not been an established attribute of teacher education. However, the notion that someone has to be appointed from outside their group to lead and direct their research work, carries overtones which suggest that it is not only the people involved in teacher education who construe their role in a non-academic manner, but those around them too. So teaching and education and all associated areas tend to be low-status which presents an almost insurmountable obstacle. For if certain areas are generally regarded as low-status, then they will be under-resourced in all sorts of ways.

I move on now to consider the beliefs and feelings of a larger group of members of the faculty of teaching studies. To what degree and in what ways does the discourse of 'academic' with its concomitant 'non-academic' have an impact on their lives and work in the college?

'Academic' and the faculty tutors

There is a consensus across the faculty which is encapsulated in the following statements. Jeremy and Louise, both influential course directors who are highly involved in the policy and administrative life at Sacred Heart, are aware of tensions which exist.

Yes I think education studies is still perceived by some staff as being a soft option. You hear it loud and clear in the use of the word academic to separate subject departments from teaching studies, as if the MAs that you have and I have, were somehow non-academic degrees.

(Jeremy)

I mean teacher education has always been the poor relation in terms of the academic world. I don't care but I think people in universities.... I think there is still a tremendous respect for traditional disciplines.

(Louise)

These are not comments from isolated and disaffected tutors, but represent a view held widely across the faculty by most of the grass-roots tutors and the junior members of the management teams. When tutors are pressed to identify aspects of college life which give expression to these perceptions they make the sorts of observations that Julie has noticed. "There's lots of little things, rather subtle attitudes and non-subtle attitudes like - no funding."

One of the direct and non-subtle elements relates to resourcing. The allocation of teaching commitments and size of groups are frequently contentious issues. At Sacred Heart there appears to be distinct differences between the patterns of work-loads and group-sizes of the tutors in the teaching studies faculty and those of other tutors.

Some of the tutors in the [subject] department were moaning that they couldn't teach their seminar groups in their rooms any more as the numbers had gone up to nearly ten. I just said, "We've had groups of over twenty ever since I've been in teaching studies". They're just starting to see how the other half live

(Eva)

How is it that we [teaching studies] never get a research day like the others? Aren't we supposed to do any? Are we just supposed to do the bread and butter teaching?

(Julie)

Most of the teaching studies tutors work to their full allocation of student contact time; some of the non-unionised tutors work beyond this. Some are constrained by their feelings of 'professionalism' to extend their working day. For example, the amount of time allocated to a school-experience supervisor for each visit is not generally adequate and sometimes does not even cover the travelling time but is the most that 'can be allowed' if all the other teaching

commitments are to be met. If a student is in difficulties, or needs to talk things through at the end of a teaching session, very few tutors will walk away from these additional demands. The teaching studies courses are taught to large numbers of students by a small core of tutors; this means heavier loads of marking as well as extra student support. All this extra work takes place in the tutors' own time, the twilight zone of teacher education.

We have our curriculum breakfast meetings at 8am, its the only time when we [the team] are all free. And I often have to work in college until 8 at night to make sure that I look at all the schemes of work for teaching practice as well as having appointments with students who come back late on the buses.

(Basia)

(Sacred Heart has to bus cohorts of residential students into a local LEA to get enough school places for all the student teachers).

I think we're made to feel second class citizens. It's like an apartheid system in the college - Academics and education.

(Ben)

The more subtle elements which reinforce this distinction between academic and non-academic cluster round an ethos which pervades the rituals and rites of passage in the college. This is exemplified in the way that the symbolism of the academic gown is used as a marker of any momentous occasion. For example, the academic year starts with a celebration in the chapel and staff are asked to wear an academic gown when they attend the service. In the past, when more of the teaching studies tutors were non-graduates, they would borrow gowns and caps to wear although they were not able to wear a hood.

Nowadays, although attendance at the service has fallen off, the wearing of a gown is still requested and this can cause some difficulties. Not many primary or secondary school teachers own these outfits, and sometimes feel obliged to buy these when appointed to the college. The possession of a gown to hang on the back of the door is sometimes used as a friendly tease within the faculty. Some of the tutors have specially purchased gowns and hats and hoods. They see these as symbols of their legitimation, proof of their credibility as academics. They can take their place in the procession of academics at the graduate ceremony. However, Jill articulates a very common feeling when she says,

We get a note which.... that it is expected that staff go to chapel in their gowns and I don't even possess a gown. So that would be a problem straight away. They don't seem, they assume we all have gowns. Why don't they have a rack of them that we can borrow? They assume we have to go and buy the wretched things.... its this pseudo academic.... arrgh, it gets me!

Academia - the tale of two tutors

Liz's story

The discourse of academia reaches other tutors in other ways. Liz, the course leader for mathematics, has become depowered by the way in which she perceives that academia asserts control over her. She has worked at the college for three years and still finds the situation difficult. She is used to working in a team, and finds some of her situation hard to manage. She talks about working from a small room;

your little box, and you do your thing and then you go to another box and do something and come back to this box. It's against my nature really and I think it's against a lot of peoples' philosophy of what we're actually about. I don't know, maybe it's, dare I say, academia and the way I feel that there's a very strong feeling that there's a difference between academics and people who deal in education. Education is not academic. It's something else altogether and I think that has caused a lot of this.

She comments on the way in which her work is individualised. The collectivism of school teaching contrasts powerfully with the individualised autonomy of academia. She recognises the tension which exists in Sacred Heart because the educationalists are not fully acknowledged. She believes that senior management regard the educationalists as second-level tutors. She believes it is important to be construed as an academic because this gives a credibility and a position to speak through.

They [management] pay lip service but they're not actually convinced and I feel patronised in many cases. Yes I do. I feel that certain people are listened to and certain people aren't because of their status in terms of being academic. I mean, I look at my job description and I look at someone else's job description where someone has gone from sort of university to research situation to higher degree and they have been in this institution or another one like it. They've never actually been in the big wide world in terms of any other experiences. I mean I look at mine, where I've been [laughs] I mean, there I am, mine's so different. And there I am with my crummy little Dip Ed at the end of my name. That's all I've got to show for all those years and yet I feel in terms of experience that I'm just as good as they are. But when it comes to making a point or being heard, it's not me who can make the point as well as someone else who actually has those letters, that.... what's the word? Has street cred in terms of what the hierarchy feel is street cred.

She articulates her belief that a particular working of 'academic' and 'non-academic' has been constructed in which the 'non-academics' like herself are constrained by the views and opinions of the 'academics'. Working conditions, personal and professional status and micropolitical 'clout' are all bound tightly together here.

She does have real grounds for this perception. Decisions which impact upon her working life, decisions like the placement of examinations, teaching practice and in particular the allocation of resources, are frequently taken by people who have little real understanding of

the needs of a tutor working in education. As Liz says, her resource needs have never been fully understood. She inherited a rather run-down situation.

You know, the kind of equipment that was lying around was the sort of stuff loaned to students going out on teaching practice, so there were a thousand boxes of weights and not much else. You know what I mean? But the real honest to goodness resources like books just didn't exist.

The discourse of power, the power of 'academia', she believes has been used to contain and control her through a process whereby her confidence and self-esteem have been partly eroded. She was unsuccessful in applying for an internal promotion and this, she thinks, is related to her lack of academic credentials. And in order to combat these perceptions Liz has been studying part-time for a higher degree.

They think I'm still wet behind the ears. I suppose, you see, that's why I feel it's because we haven't had the experience of academia. This lack of letters behind my name has never worried me until now, and now it's really worrying me and I don't think it should worry me. Because I think that what I've done should be important and not whether I have got a qualification. But it does matter. It does matter a lot at this level a lot.. So I'm doing it. I'm doing it

She is crossing over the divide which she has constructed or which has been constructed over time. It will be interesting to see if her perceptions shift with the awarding of her higher degree.

Jill's story

A fascinating corollary to this is that the most recent appointees to the faculty of teaching studies who have all come from schools, have expectations which are related to this academic/non-academic division. Jill was interviewed one year after joining the faculty of teaching studies. She had been a head teacher. At an early stage as a lecturer, she was aware of what she described as a 'pseudo-academic' ethos. She has felt belittled in some ways by this. It is difficult to come - from the headship of a school, involved in fairly far-reaching decisions over resources, children and sometimes a large staff, teaching and non-teaching - into an institution where not only is your experience not valued, but you perceive yourself to be regarded as in some way deficient. This is unsettling at the very least. Jill, however, is angry.

Well, what the hell are they, for God's sake? I mean, I don't think I'm any different from any other teacher. I just happen to work in this institution. But some of them, I think, take a very patronising stance it seems to me. But I actually think that they think they are something that's better than other people. They actually think they are academic for want of a better word. What does that mean? That's the trouble with universities, they think they're academic, they're in the business of being academic. But we're not in the business of being anything. We're in the business of doing.

Jill does expect that Sacred Heart must have some connection with what it is to be academic and scholarly. She believes strongly that working in higher education does have some connection with academic explorations and so, for her, certain procedures follow from this. She believes that rigour involves exploring perspectives and offering alternative positions, that truth is relative and knowledge tentative.

To me, it's not an academic thing to do, to say that this is correct, even if it is the most correct thing that you can think of, that is not an academic point of view. You put the balance.... an academic view is looking at (things) in an all round view.

In practice, this has caused great discomfort within the language curriculum team. Jill opposes the maintenance of any orthodoxies, particularly with reference to the teaching of reading. She thinks that higher education should not just transmit various understandings but critique and scrutinise their claims. Although her colleagues would agree with this view in discussion, Jill believes that a tentative, questioning stance is contradicted in practice. For example, she believes that an orthodoxy over 'real books' is being presented as the only way to teach reading. Jill wants the students to be made aware of a variety of strategies to support reading and believes that all these approaches should be carefully interrogated. In order to argue for this eclectic approach, Jill is employing a powerful discourse, that which she constructs as 'academic' as opposed to 'non-academic'. It is not academic to consider one orthodoxy; an academic approach should be one which considers all the options.

Conclusions

The discourse of 'academic' does not only function as a powerful device to control aspects of the work of the faculty of teaching studies. It also works within the faculty in various ways, to legitimise and delegitimise various practices and stances. As Ball has argued (90:2), "discourses are about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, and with what authority". Jill has attempted to assert her beliefs through using one discursive formation related to 'academic'. But generally, the discourse is used to sideline and exclude.

Many of the tutors in the faculty of teaching studies feel patronised, as if they are of less intellectual worth than other members of staff, because they are not academics, only educationalists. They believe this has material consequences in their ability to lobby and gain access to resources. They think of themselves as somehow lacking, and they seek to legitimate their work by obtaining the credentials which they perceive as valued by the college power-brokers. From their position, the discourse of 'academic' is strongly implicated in the business of 'speaking with authority'. And there are clearly historical antecedents involved in this.

Where discourse shapes what can be said and thought, the fascinating dimension to this is the manner in which it is possible to utilise the construct 'academic' in a positive or negative

manner when dealing with individuals or micro-problems, to fit the circumstances; what Michel Foucault has called the 'polyvalency of discourses'. So contradictions round the way 'academic' is used, abused or reified, certainly exist in a micro-dimension, in the interpersonal daily reality of life in the faculty.

At Sacred Heart College certain forms of knowledge have traditionally been seen as superior to others; intellectually and micropolitically, certain disciplines count for more. Practical knowledge and vocational preparation are deemed to be less worthy of recognition in a higher educational setting. The consequence of this is that those who work in teaching studies may well be less regarded, may fare less well in relation to resourcing, conditions of work, promotion and access to or influence over key policy decisions in the college. They are micropolitical lightweights in the college pecking order.

All actions based on considerations of status are directed toward 'social inclusion' and 'exclusion'. To safeguard their status, groups will restrict their interaction with others not of the same status.... Status groups, in other words, rest upon maintaining social distance and exclusiveness.

(Hughes 84:8)

From my observations and review of the conditions of work at the college and from my discussions with various tutors working in teacher education and those in the other traditional disciplines, it does seem that there are status differentials at work in Sacred Heart. These serve at the very least to position teacher education tutors in material contexts where it would be almost impossible for them to perform any of the accepted roles of academia; their teaching hours, the numbers of students taught, their marking and preparation duties would make it difficult to undertake and publish research of any quality. They are clearly excluded from participation in this world but inhabit another which, perhaps, more accurately mirrors the school room rather than the lecture hall.

Chapter Seven

Patterns of Inequality

In this chapter I want to consider the ways in which the working lives of teacher educators are shaped as well as cleaved by structural issues, particularly by those of class and gender. As I write these words I am conscious that some of the tutors who work at Sacred Heart College would want to repudiate this first sentence. How can a Christian college with a commitment to social justice, equality of treatment and an over-riding respect for all persons actually be involved in any form of discrimination or oppression? What I suggest in this chapter is that Sacred Heart College legitimates the same inequities which are embedded in contemporary society. This is not because the college is 'bad' or because it has intentionally disregarded structural concerns; it is because of the specific historical, economic, political and cultural circumstances which currently obtain in society and which are intimately involved in the ranges of discourses which constitute contemporary life.

Gramsci argued that the power of any ruling class in western societies is maintained through a form of ideological dominance, or 'hegemony'. He believed that over a long period of time the power elite could legitimate their dominance through appeals to 'common sense' which served to maintain the status quo, the hegemony. If it can be made to appear that certain social groups are less capable or inadequate then it is easier to maintain unequal participation or unequal life chances. And after a while, these discourses of inequality- 'race', class and gender become deeply sedimented in the 'cultures' and the mythologies of society. They become its unstated 'common sense', they provide a leitmotif for reading the world. So the social institutions within society are shaped by and shape these discourses of inequity. The discourses are not acknowledged in this sharp way, they are subsumed in the day-to-day micro-politics of the institution. Discourses of sex, 'race' and class underpin and give a sometimes unrecognised form to daily life in all social settings. In Sacred Heart these discourses were frequently non-issues for the tutors - indicative of the power of the commonsensical.

Many teacher educators would have little problem with recognising inequalities in relation to schools. After all, there is a vast literature which demonstrates that this is so. However, there is hardly any recognition of inequity inside teacher education. There are some accounts of the ways in which student teachers perceive their courses to be biased or discriminatory (Siraj-Blatchford 91) and a start is being made on the experiences of women tutors in teacher education (Coffey and Acker 91) but it is generally not widely acknowledged that there are structural inequalities in this sector which operate at the level of the tutors and lecturers. Rather there is an assumption that because many of the key actors in colleges and universities are 'well educated' in a formal sense, they are 'liberal humanists' who acknowledge the manner in

which certain groups are underprivileged so it is impossible for them to be implicated in this process.

However, no institution is immune from the cultural beliefs and values of society. Sacred Heart College represents and reproduces the structures and values which embody and transmit inequality. It may eschew egalitarian talk but it 'speaks' inequality in and through its forms and practices. Thus, it will be women who will be employed as cleaners and typists. It is more than likely that the majority of 'ethnic minority' workers will be positioned at a lower (financial) level in the refectory rather than as tutors or administrators. There may be few if any disabled workers, in part due to poor building provision, but also related to little or no affirmative staff-recruitment in this arena. Stereotyping, mythologies and low expectations work to limit the life chances of particular groups, and this serves to advance the chances of those in the dominant group; namely white middle class men. Even where these men are aware of and oppose disadvantage and discrimination, indirectly they will always benefit from the oppression of these other constituencies.

In this chapter I want to consider what it is like for women doing the job of teacher education at Sacred Heart College. During the period when I was collecting data, interviewing tutors and observing teaching sessions, it became obvious that structural differences existed. For example, the women in the faculty of teaching studies were generally more experienced and better qualified but tended to have less posts of responsibility than male colleagues. This difference in position and status is of particular interest because teacher education has been, until relatively recently, a feminised division of labour (Heward 92). But times have changed and now, as Liz says,

In a way our institution is a larger version of what goes on in schools. You have to work twice as hard if you are a woman not a man. Our college is very much like an old boys' club.

And Jenni, the Dean of Teaching Studies, adds

Women have to work harder. I think they have to do more of the nitty-gritty work and do a lot more for themselves. They don't seem to get the same back up and they can't seem to lay claim to the same resources and administrative help... When some of the men started things up it was given a certain amount of kudos, it was somehow special. I felt that if women did it then it was expected.

In this chapter I will consider issues of sex, class and 'race' in a limited manner although this is not to regard these as secondary or as less important. Issues of sex, 'race' and class work in a related as well as autonomous manner to distribute power at specific historical times. At Sacred Heart, these discourses have become so woven into the fabric of social life as to be indistinct. In this way they have become part of the 'taken for granted' and common-sense life of the

institution. They are indeed 'non-issues'. The major focus of this chapter will be to investigate the issues related to being a woman tutor in the teaching studies faculty.

The common sense of college

I have argued that there are difficulties in dealing with structural inequalities separately, they are intertwined and work sometimes together and sometimes separately. For example, it is evident that age produces different outcomes for men and women at different points in their careers. Like wine, men improve with age, while 'menopausal women' can prove 'difficult' in the work setting! What I want to argue is that related to the common sense or hegemony within staffing policy (implicit rather than explicit) are sets and strands of intersecting and interwoven beliefs and assumptions about class, 'race', gender, age and issues of sexuality which limit the potential of and exclude certain groups.

I have discussed the culture of Sacred Heart which is made up from sets of beliefs and assumptions which have outcomes in terms of recruitment and retention within the staffing. The culture is built round the myths of a 'Brideshead Revisited' scenario (see chapter four). There is a certain framing of what Bernstein (75) has called the 'old middle class' values. Bernstein has argued that what typifies this group is the form of symbolic control which it embodies. There is a stress on loyalty and tradition and power is asserted through interpersonal communication rather than direct prescription. There is an ever-so-subtle presence, a sense of what has to be and what must not be countenanced. The environment has to be 'nice'. Staff must dress 'nicely' and talk 'nicely'. Tea and scones must be taken in the senior common room and are not served until tea-time proper.

There is no need ever to assert that this is a middle class institution. It is all perfectly clear. No one, other than the cleaners or gardeners, speaks with an inner-city accent. The secretarial support workers are extremely well-dressed, 'nice presentable ladies' who embody this class position. For example, complaints were made about one of the secretaries who did not wear tights at work and who was regarded as 'scruffy' by other secretaries and tutors too. At Sacred Heart, it is extremely 'rude' to talk about class unless you are involved in a sociological discussion. Then of course it is acceptable. However, the class basis of the institution permeates all aspects of life and this impinges upon the students as much as it does the tutors. I was told by one of the tutors that a student who came from London would be best suited to inner-city schools because the children in the rural shires would not understand her speech. This tutor actually advised the student to "practice speaking in front of a mirror". As already discussed, the old training colleges, which many of the staff attended themselves, were places which stressed gentrification. Jeremy, a course director, told me that when at college himself, he had been forced to take elocution to get rid of his northern working class accent before becoming a "member of the profession". What occurs at Sacred Heart is a displacement of class - it is just

not on the agenda and anyway, isn't everyone at Sacred Heart middle class? Class and occupational status are coupled together so attending or working at the college as a tutor is thus seen as unproblematic: it is a middle class occupation.

The displacement of class is effected by slipping into place other crucial discourses. In particular, the stress on the needs of the individual in teaching and teacher education manages this neatly in a professionally constructed manner. The historical emphasis on the 'child' at the centre of the project of teaching, where the child is not conceptualised as classed, 'raced' or gendered has contributed to these displacements and to an omission of the discussion of particular structural constraints. The focus is on the individual and individuals can 'escape' from the 'limits' of their class inheritance. And this, of course, has been the secret promise of teaching and education for the children of the working classes in Britain. But the 'trade-off' seems to be that class is not mentioned. It does not exist.

Lee (87) has argued that student teachers are extremely reluctant to identify their socio-economic class of origin. They become uncomfortable with this and prefer to identify as 'professionals', as middle class by virtue of their educational experience.

Many students and teachers appear to believe that they have achieved educationally because of their own individual ability and choice in a just, competitive system.

(Lee 89:106)

To extrapolate from this to tutors in teacher education is perhaps dangerous but nevertheless seems worth attempting. None of the tutors interviewed discussed the issue of social class as it related to their work. Now this might mean that there are no tensions or that they all do identify as middle class. This may well be the case where class and occupational status have been seen as identical. It might mean that they have internalised the sort of messages about class and status which Jeremy clearly got from his time in college. As a consequence, some of the tutors might well be uncomfortable in the cultural climate of Sacred Heart but this may in turn render them docile. Those less certain of themselves in terms of their class position may be more readily controlled by the discourse of 'niceness' and 'not rocking the boat' which is important in institutions with traditions which invest in loyalty as a method of social control. In effect social class plays a fundamental and comprehensive role in the life of the institution but one which is deeply laid down and does not need to be activated; it is a slow, silent but deep constant in the lives of all who work at Sacred Heart.

The issue of sexuality is not slow or silent at all. Indeed it is an issue which has caused and which continues to cause some tension in the life of Sacred Heart. The conflict centres around the issue that for some in the Catholic Church there are unresolved dilemmas in the way in which gay and lesbian rights and issues are understood and dealt with. This has meant that in

the past tutors have had strong disagreements about the manner in which issues like HIV and AIDS have been dealt with. For example, in 1989, the final-year BEd students who followed a specialised health education course were required to produce and display materials to support their work with school students on these aspects. These were displayed on a central corridor. A very senior member of staff approached the principal and demanded that the display be removed as it delineated a life style which should not be given recognition in a Christian college.

For these sorts of reasons an overwhelming problem is faced by gay and lesbian staff employed in the college. A couple of examples will illustrate the tensions experienced by tutors working in an institution where the 'norm' is one of compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 81). In 1987 a lectureship was advertised for an academic post in a subject department. One of the candidates discussed her lesbianism in her interview. She did not get the job. This event generated a lot of discussion among some of the teaching studies staff. Should the woman have 'passed' in order to promote her chances of employment? Did her 'outness' jeopardise her prospects? Would it really ever be possible to know? What was certain was that a great deal of stereotyped language and evidence of bias and ignorance was displayed in the ensuing discussions. For any tutor who was 'passing' as hetero, this experience will have produced a highly threatening context in which they would have to continue working. It demonstrated that 'coming out' was just not possible at Sacred Heart for any lesbian or gay tutor who wanted to be taken seriously.

Also in relation to issues of sexuality at Sacred Heart College, it is interesting to note the problems which arose when the 'Equality of Opportunity' statement was being prepared. After some debate and a great deal of careful negotiation, a statement was prepared by the NATFHE college branch which was eventually accepted by the governing body in 1989. The statement simply said that the branch opposed any discrimination on the basis of race, gender and 'sexual orientation'. In May 1992 sexual orientation was eliminated from the statement.

The 'good' teacher

I have already argued that discourses of sexism, 'racism' and classism will impact upon higher educational institutions as well as schools. As Coffey and Acker (91:252) have said, "teacher education by and large fails to provide an effective challenge to the dominant discourses". Coffey and Acker identified discursive formations which, they believe, typify teacher education. These are 'child-centredness', 'neutrality', 'professionalism' and 'teaching as women's work'. Teachers have historically been pressed into a version of 'neutrality' in large part because their job has been constructed as a professional concern with the individual needs of children which has neatly by-passed any structural considerations. This is a perspective where child-centredness operates to assert a view of a reified child no longer located in any social context.

The emphasis on individualism is a pervasive social norm but its acceptance at the classroom level not only militates against greater social consciousness but also ignores the nature of institutional schooling which at all levels is a social process.

(Lee 89:107)

Teachers in general have been seen to take a professed 'apolitical' stance. This is a crucial characteristic in a Western 'democracy' where conservatism parades as the 'rational' and the 'norm'.

(Lee 89:114)

The 'good' teacher who becomes the 'good' tutor may well have been socialised into a way of working which has disguised any politico-economic consideration of structural inequality and its relation to schooling. This has been hidden by discourses of individualism and professionalism. Teachers might still consider issues of resources or stereotyping (Coffey and Acker 91), where these relate to individual differences, avoiding any real awareness of the structural nature of these stereotyped categories. The 'good' teacher will consider these issues in her classroom but, as a 'professional', may not see her role as being active in fighting against these limitations in a broader way. As Coffey and Acker (91 254) explain,

Being 'professional' can be taken to mean doing one's job competently. It also has connotations of neutrality, detachment, being uncontroversial and protective of occupational autonomy - and perhaps being masculine as well.

As noted earlier, many tutors who come to work in Sacred Heart are already related to the college in some way or another. And this sponsorship may work to preserve the status quo within the institution. The 'good', neutral, apolitical and professional teacher who moves into the college will carry with them all these discourses. They may well be successful in obtaining their posts because it is recognised that they are indeed this sort of 'good' teacher.

While some of the tutors will hold oppositional positions, the pressure to conform and to submit to the loyalty and tradition of symbolic controls within Sacred Heart may well mean that certain discourses are masked. A tutor 'passes' rather than 'outs' her lesbianism. The gay tutor never mentions sexuality for fear that he is 'suspected'. Issues of 'race' become manoeuvred into celebrations of multicultural difference where respect for individuals is vaunted and the structural oppression of black people ignored. There are no black tutors in the teaching studies faculty but this is never discussed as a limitation to the work being undertaken. 'Race' and racism are not an issue at Sacred Heart, after all the institution is nearly 'all white' (except for the refectory and cleaning staff) and there is therefore "no problem here" (Gaine 89). As with gender, issues of resourcing and stereotyping are discussed in some courses, although not within any clear political framework. 'Difference' is related to individual needs and runs the risk of becoming pathologised; 'difference' serves to underline the hegemony of what it is to be 'normal' and normalised. Elements of difference are simply additions to the professional

repertoire of the 'good' teacher to focus on individual needs. 'Difference' is rarely understood as a collective attribute through which to contest the status quo or question the role schooling plays in distributing life chances to particular 'different' communities.

Women working at Sacred Heart

I will focus more specifically now on 'teaching as women's work'. This is more contested and contradictory in Sacred Heart College. There are many women who work as tutors at Sacred Heart but only a minority of these have achieved senior posts. For a number of women who work in the faculty of teaching studies there has come a growing awareness of their situation as women workers in a male-dominated environment. This awareness has come from their direct experiences of sexism as well as from their reading of research literature undertaken for higher degree awards. In what follows I will draw upon interviews with two of my key informants [see methods in appendix 3], Liz and Eva, who work as grassroots tutors. I will also be using data from two interviews with Jenni, the Dean of Teaching Studies, in order to examine the position of women managers.

Some of the women tutors believed that there was no longer any problem. Women have been appointed to the staff and have gained some senior posts. As Anna said,

In 1972 when I first came here, apart from it being caring, it was also very patronising and very paternalistic. I did a look round the staff room. I had just come back from the Philippines where everyone dyes their hair, there is no grey hair, and I came back to this staff room and it was full of grey-haired old men in my view. And then I looked at who was who, and all the PLs were grey-haired old men. There were no women, apart from one, who were PLs at this time. And this was 1972. Now I honestly think that the new management saw this and they have bent over backwards and, you know, I really feel they are really aware of this and they have done much to promote women. I have even heard them say, "Well how do you get a short list when only three women have applied, a ratio of three out of ten?" And they have done far more to promote women. I really do think that they have addressed that.

Anna sees the issue of women working in the college as limited to numerical representation and the technical capacity of women to obtain posts and gain promotion - a classic liberal position. However, the perspectives of other women in the faculty demonstrate that certain difficulties have not been addressed and, even for women in extremely powerful positions, the experience of being a woman working in an 'old boys' club' can be a limiting process which shapes the totality of their working life.

The position of women teachers is traditionally seen in much of the sociological literature as one of almost passive acceptance of their subordinate position within the school hierarchy. Coffey and Acker (91:255) refer to earlier work by Acker (90) on the positions adopted by women school teachers. These women displayed a

fatalistic rather than feminist stance to inequalities they encountered. They were aware that men were preferred for promotion but saw a rationale behind it; the interests of 'balance' in the staffroom and male role models for the children. Schools wanted a fair share of the men available; to secure them they had to offer the carrot of fast-track promotion opportunities.

The relative position of men teachers to women teachers constitutes a form of vertical segregation (Urry 85). Women are concentrated in subordinate positions within an occupation which is organised and managed by dominant male workers from the same occupational class. Because of this it is sometimes difficult to see that inequality occurs. It can be argued that men and women are equally able to apply for jobs and equally able to apply for promotion. Women can sometimes be de-politicised through these sorts of arguments as demonstrated by what Anna says above. But men occupy the majority of school headships while women make up the majority of the classroom teaching force. This gender imbalance is also evident in higher education. For example, in university departments of education in 1990 there were only nine women professors in total and only twenty-seven women were readers or senior lecturers. There were seventy-seven male professors and two hundred and nineteen male readers or senior lecturers (Jackson 90). At Sacred Heart College, the same pattern is evident.

During the sixties when teaching expanded, the colleges recruited many more men as lecturers and from this point on the balance shifted; never since this time have women outnumbered men in this sector. Taylor (69:204) believes that this change was due to the fact that "this field now offers career possibilities that hardly existed twenty years ago". But as Eileen Byrne has stated,

when men have in turn competed with women in entering 'female' fields of training and employment, [they] then take over the leadership (as all over Europe the trend now shows they do).

(Byrne 85:105)

What is distinctive about women who work in teacher education is that they have generally had a successful career before moving into higher education. At Sacred Heart in the faculty of teaching studies there are a number of women who have previously been heads of schools, deputy head teachers and senior advisors in various local educational authorities. The women tutors tend to have more experience at senior levels in education than the men who join the staff. They have therefore had experience of organising, managing and 'being in charge'. They have overcome barriers and prejudices in one field of education. Yet very often their experience of moving into higher education confounds this; once in Sacred Heart they are exposed to the very basic and raw elements of sexist discrimination all over again. Liz:

In the faculty of teaching studies there are.... more men in positions of power. I feel that certain appointments have been made with the male issue being a quite important part of the appointment, shall we say, in terms of the post of course director for the teacher education courses? I feel that was one of the

major issues of the people who were appointing. There were three males appointed, yet there were women candidates for the jobs each time. That's my own personal feeling. I think in a way our institution is a larger version of what goes on in schools, you have to work twice as hard if you are a woman, that still exists if you are a woman not a man.

Shakeshaft (89) has argued that in the past a variety of explanations have been offered to account for the barriers which prevent women's advancement. Reasons like the 'Woman's Place' model, where dominant social norms shape lower aspiration and expectation, the 'Discriminations model' where women are directly excluded and the 'Meritocracy model' where women have been excluded because they were 'not good enough' have been variously asserted to explain the absence of women. Shakeshaft rejects these 'explanations' because they rest on justifications which either 'blame the victim' or see difference as meaning 'less adequate'. Shakeshaft (89:92) asks some searching questions such as how it is that gender-segregated structures exist? How is it that there are more men managers in education than women, when it is such a feminised division of labour? And why is it that women and not men end up in low-powered positions ?

She believes that the pattern of male dominance has been maintained through a discourse of androcentrism.

Androcentrism is the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective. It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal and the honouring of men and the male principle above the woman and the female. This perception creates a belief in male superiority and a masculine value system in which female values, experiences and behaviours are viewed as inferior.... Men and women must do different things; women and what women do are less valued than are men and what men do. Otherwise gender as an ordering principle with someone above and someone below would not be possible. Thus in an androcentric world, there is a woman's place and that place is less valued, less honoured, and less reinforced than man's place.

(Shakeshaft 89:94&95)

Heather-jane Robertson (92:44) believes that many educational institutions have "avoided or dismissed analyses and research which identify systematic bias". She explains this avoidance as the "utilisation of the prerogative of every dominant class, which has been called "the right not to know"". She argues that the 'common-sense' hegemony of male dominance is masked by a version of gender neutrality This in turn "creates a silence which promotes gender bias while superficially adopting the mannerisms of impartiality" (Robertson 92:58). Gender neutrality itself functions to mask androcentrism. This argument is supported by the work of McAuley (87:159); "a man's common-sense view of the situation" is that "there is no need for a gender-based equal opportunities group within [an] institution because the preconditions for the unequal treatment of women do not exist". McAuley's point is that any institution of higher education works on the basis of an "implied commonality of understanding" between men and

women about the purpose and role of academics and, as such, cannot discriminate or oppress. However, this androcentric world view has been challenged.

There is a growing body of literature which examines the working world of women (Hartmann 76, Holland 80) and within this a smaller genre which examines the situation for women professionals (Kanter 77, Spencer and Podmore 87). For women who work in education the focus has been either on women as school teachers (Deem 78, Acker 83) or women academics in higher education (Acker 80, Sutherland 87, McAuley 87, Jackson 90). The situation of women who work as teacher educators has not been subjected to much direct attention, it has been subsumed within one or another of these categories. However, as Heward (92:1) says, the role of women in teacher education is particularly unusual because of "the domination of the profession by men and women at different periods". Androcentrism, then, has produced different results at different times; when teacher education has been low in status, women have organised and managed this sector; when teacher education became an all-graduate route, then men moved in to assert their dominance.

I have argued that androgyny and the construct of the 'good' teacher may discourage political consciousness and I have also argued that working in teacher education can enforce an apolitical and neutral stance. Nevertheless hegemonies can only ever be partial and there is always the possibility of breaking through and dis-identifying from any dominant discourse. Early on in my field work it was apparent that there was clear evidence of gender discrimination although only two of the women from the faculty of education had mentioned gender as a factor in their working lives. I discussed the complexities of being a woman tutor at Sacred Heart with two of my key informants, Liz and Eva who worked as grassroots tutors and one senior manager, Jenni, who worked as the Dean of Teaching Studies. All three recognise the way in which women are disadvantaged at Sacred Heart. They are able to 'see through' the hegemony. Yet in the final analysis, particularly for the tutors who teach, they seem to be overwhelmed by a stronger influence and are 'silenced' once more by the discourse of 'professionalism'.

Although I have discussed why the majority of women teacher educators at Sacred Heart, and perhaps more widely, do not have feminist views yet there are some tutors who do 'see through' the hegemony of male dominance disguised as gender neutrality. Liz, Eva and Jenni's biographies involve bringing up children on their own in a less than sympathetic era, of activism for a national political party, of undertaking research into gender. Their personal biographies stand in contrast to the apolitical and neutral domain of the institution. These reasons undoubtedly contribute to why Jenni, Liz and Eva recognise what is going on but do not necessarily lead to any major challenges or subversions of the status quo. Some women have too much to lose.

Women 'at the bottom' - their perceptions

Liz was a very successful advisor in a large local education authority and before that she had been a deputy head teacher. She has had a successful career in schools but when she came into college work things changed suddenly.

As far as I am concerned it's like starting all over again. You are on the lowest rung of the ladder and constantly having to prove yourself.

However, it is not only a matter of 'having to prove' themselves. Women on the staff are subjected to various forms of sexist behaviour. There is an overwhelming perception by some of the women who work at Sacred Heart that teacher education is still a 'man's world' where their main task as women is to service the needs of their male colleagues. Nothing that they do is as important and they are systematically less well-supported. Even their professional discussions may well be regarded as low-level conversations which can be interrupted at will by their male peers (Robertson 92).

Simple things on the corridor that I have noticed, men will not interrupt men, but if there's a conversation going on between a man and a woman, a man will think nothing of coming straight into the conversation, two women talking together a man will think nothing of coming straight through that conversation. Happens all the time and I get very tired because I think it's rude, and they don't do it to each other, but they will do it to a woman because we actually are slightly less.... our place is like stepping back into history.

Eva described an important faculty meeting which was chaired by a senior male manager. The meeting was to discuss appointments to boards of studies. The senior manager started the meeting by saying that they didn't want "any emotional women, someone who had outbursts all the time". Eva said that none of the women present - who had caught each other's eyes - had challenged the statement because "you are a lone voice, who else would stand up and be counted with you if you did?" She added

Why should women always have to challenge those remarks? Why can't men challenge those remarks! There were other able and articulate men sitting at that table who let the remark pass.

But Liz is aware that this is all more complex than merely making a direct challenge.

I was discussing something with [a senior male manager] We were discussing a member of staff who had openly challenged him on several occasions and she was described by him as a "highly dramatic emotional woman". This is the linguistics of gender. A man who stands up for himself is thought to be macho, a woman who does is strident. It's the word game. But it should have been challenged. But who is going to do that to someone with that amount of power?

And Eva added to this,

Take up this idea of a woman being considered strident. Examples like this that mean when a woman actually does return with powerful arguments she is immediately put into that picture of strident female.

None of this is in any way novel. Any cursory consideration of research findings about girls and women in schools and in other work settings will reveal many similar and depressing accounts. Indeed there will be clear evidence not just of the sorts of low-level commonplace sexism in attitude and language as evidenced here by Liz and Eva, but evidence too of an almost continual level of harassment.

Within the professional occupational group of college lecturers, a group less subject to sociological inquiry than more 'traditional' subordinated groups, the same processes of vertical segregation are at work (Urry 85). However, this is not always recognised. Although research has been published which highlights this situation (McAuley 87, Aziz 90) many tutors working in teacher education who have a concern with schools and classrooms may have less time and perhaps little incentive to read this literature. Indeed they may well deny that gender discrimination occurs in their work setting (Shakeshaft 89). They will be aware of direct and overt sexism in schools but may well have internalised a gender-neutral perspective about higher education (McAuley 87).

Some of the female tutors, like Anna and Rose were inclined to believe that the fact of their employment meant that there were no bars to women. The fact that a small minority of women had senior posts, the fact that Sacred Heart would almost have to be opposed to any form of discrimination by virtue of its Christian ethos, all meant that sexism was simply just not a problem. Ball (87:72) says "gender affiliations are not recognised as a source of factional identity for all women teachers" and "clearly not all women recognise or experience discrimination" (Ball 87:78). This is true of the women who teach at Sacred Heart. Related to this point are the observations made by Delamont (90) that many feminist researchers, writers and activists live and work in more politicised locales and tend not to recognise the way in which many of their 'taken for granted' understandings in relation to sex, 'race' or class have not had the same degree of impact elsewhere. Sacred Heart is situated in a pleasant suburb and has maintained a stance of 'niceness' and 'respectability' virtually untroubled by the urban politics of 'race', class and gender. Nasty things like sexism do not occur at Sacred Heart and, if they do, it might just be as a consequence of some 'difficult women' making trouble (McAuley 87).

For example, when the NATFHE officer had to support two woman colleagues in their attempts to stop a man in the workplace from harassing them, she had to work through the line manager for the man concerned. After the allegation had been responded to and an appropriate change in conduct assured, the union officer, a tutor at the college, was never spoken to again by the line

manager who, from that time on, constantly ignored her presence. However, some of the male administrative staff and the governing body, who were asked to support the union's statement of equality of opportunity, did so in a wholehearted manner and some referred to sexist instances experienced by their partners and daughters in different settings.

Even though some individuals are more aware than others, there is an invisible regime which underpins the college, which becomes internalised and becomes 'normalised' in the everyday discourses of the women and men who work at Sacred Heart. 'Race', class and gender inequalities happen somewhere else, not in an institution of higher education. And of course this can make working in the college even more complicated and oppressive for the women who do recognise what is going on.

The knot which links vested, self and ideological interests is tied tight. Women who experience discrimination and lack of opportunity also, [may] as a result, experience damage to their self-esteem and sense of personal worth. Lack of opportunity for and discrimination against women ensures the continued dominance of the male perspective.

(Ball 87:73)

And if a masculine perspective is the 'norm' then this in turn normalises and underpins particular discourses of 'balance', 'rationality' and 'professionalism' while displacing other issues. In this manner the hidden discourse of male dominance is slipped into 'neutral' and 'objective' stances which men and women can recognise as logical, superior and worthwhile. Liz recognises this,

Women are 'emotional'. They are seen as unreliable. They are liable to go off and have a family, liable to be affected by menopause. That is a large element of why people who have power to appoint actually do appoint males rather than females.

Not many of the women who teach in the faculty of teaching studies recognise these tensions and dilemmas or, perhaps more correctly, are prepared to discuss them. Even Liz and Eva, who are aware of these issues both from direct experience and because of their knowledge of the research in their curriculum areas, are caught in a final contradiction.

We see it in evidence that women are not really taken that seriously. I am terribly aware of having dealings with Rose, one of the directors I deal with. She treats me as a colleague. I have dealings with some of my male colleagues and I am treated like a secretary. I resent it. Yet I know that if I had a certain appendage between my legs I would not be treated in that way

I've been directly aware of this feeling that men can get away with things that women can't, like I had to strive like mad to get my MA. Other people don't have to, it seems, do the same thing if they are male. They don't worry about it. They [senior management] don't pursue them. I feel I have to strive a lot harder to keep and hold position than a male would in my place.

The injustices are recognised. It is clear that women have a more difficult time of it than men at Sacred Heart. But there is a recognition and an acceptance that life is like that. Kanter (77:158) has argued that opportunities for women have not necessarily been limited by gender difference but through organisational structures which limit progress. She believes that "opportunity structures shape behaviour in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies". Women and other minority group members can see little space for advance, they recognise the futility of their position and so lower their aspirations which in turn serves to preserve the status quo.

It's the promotion game and the whole thing of getting recognised. It's not a fair race because it's along the lines of men in our case being in Ferraris and women in Robin Reliants. And yet we're supposed to have a race for promotion.

Women 'at the top' - their perspective

In Sacred Heart College all the tutors work at senior lecturer level. There are a few Principal Lecturer grades, the majority of which are held by men. Above this, in the hierarchy are the posts of Heads of Departments. At the top is the Assistant Dean and Deans of Faculty. The most senior positions are the two Vice Principals and the Principal. Of these most senior seven positions, two are held by women. One is the post of Vice Principal with responsibility for student affairs, a pastoral role. The other is the Dean of the Faculty of Teaching Studies.

Kanter (77) believes that the fact that there are very few women at the top has direct consequences for these successful individuals. They are highly visible, and can be constrained to 'be a man in a man's world' or become what Sutherland (87) has called "pioneers" or "mascots". They can serve to hide discrimination, 'after all more women would have been appointed if they had been as capable'. They may themselves experience enormous marginalisation at very senior levels where they have been brought in as the silent, token woman. They can serve as 'cheerleaders' for other women too, which can exert an enormous pressure on what may already be a complex and difficult position.

Jenni, the Dean of Teaching Studies is aware of all these tensions and believes that even where a woman is successful, she must still confront double standards. She still has to resist some very powerful attitudes and beliefs about women at work in relation to men.

And it's difficult to get to the bottom of it because what seems natural in them [men] and where they have the style for it, the vocabulary for it and the language for it, and any negative spin-off from jockeying for power or promotion - there are various ways of re-defining it in a positive way. I think it's much more difficult for women. I don't think that it's part of what's expected. I don't think it's part of her, natural - by natural I mean in inverted commas, I mean what comes naturally, for whatever reason, the way that you feel comfortable behaving - it's not part of that.... repertoire of behaviours that she has.

I heard a woman say yesterday, for example, - I was running an in-service course and we were discussing, actually, this sort of thing - and she said 'A car, to a woman, is four wheels to get you from A to B, whereas, to a man, it's a symbol, it's.... you know'. And, you know, that was an interesting thing that happened to me when I came here because the car was something to get me from A to B and I would regard it as petty, in the extreme, to look at somebody's number plate to see how old their car was, or to look at the engine capacity of their car. But you get sucked into it. It doesn't come naturally but, oh boy, you learn fast if you have to. I went to a meeting with people of my level from various institutions one day, and parked my, by then, seven year old Volkswagen Polo in there, and one of them looked at it and said 'I can see how salaries have declined over the last few years' but next time I parked in there I had an Alfa Romeo.

Jenni is a highly qualified and experienced tutor who has worked in another college before taking up her appointment in Sacred Heart. She has undertaken research into gender issues in the classroom which has been published. In many ways then she 'breaks' the normal patterns of the college staffing profile. She identifies as a committed feminist. What she says here about a vocabulary and a language which privileges male dominance supports what Liz and Eva have to say. The point about the car as a status symbol for a man as opposed to a useful machine to support a woman in her work is interesting as it points up a central issue which exists in the gender literature. Are men and women different? And if so, in what ways? And do any of these differences inevitably lead to unequal or unjust outcomes?

This is a complex issue which affects women working in professional occupational contexts. Put briefly, when women are as well qualified as men in the same occupational arena and work at a similar hierarchical level, have they attained equality? Have they overcome vertical segregation or are they just 'token' success stories? Do they have to be 'men' in a man's world? Related to this is another range of questions: are there any 'real' differences between the sexes? Are there any 'natural' differences? For instance, Shakeshaft (89) has argued that women are actually better-fitted and more successful than men as administrators because they inhabit a female world which values democracy, caring, notions of service and sensitive problem-solving and these attributes make for good management.

Anna and Rose would say that women at Sacred Heart had achieved equality. Because Jenni Jowett for example, has been made Dean, no 'glass ceiling' exists. Eva and Liz would want to qualify this. They would argue that some women attain senior positions but have to be 'better than men' and will, even so, still be on the receiving end of sexism and discrimination because this is the way the world is shaped. But Liz seems to believe that women will only 'get on' and get promotion if they almost pretend to be men and relinquish what some see as emotionalism and what others see as positive and affirmed elements of being a woman.

And I do have to say that there are several examples in our institution which let us down in that picture. People [women] who are emotionally driven who

then spoil the image for other people [women] so that others coming behind who may be promoted... one day are on a sticky wicket for a start..

Liz

Jenni can see different sorts of tensions. She has experienced a 'difference' in relation to car ownership, use and status and is consciously aware of playing a game. "It doesn't come naturally but, oh boy, you learn fast if you have to". Jenni also echoes another point made by Liz and Eva about the manner in which women have to work harder than men and have to manage with less support. She says,

I think that they have to do a lot more of the nitty-gritty work, and do a lot more for themselves. They don't seem to get the same back-up, and they can't seem to lay claim to the same resources and administrative help. Even when they achieve promoted posts, they still seem to have to run around doing an awful lot of the nitty-gritty themselves. You know, people don't somehow, although they give them status, somehow, they don't give them some of the perks that go with it.

She says that men will certainly be treated better than women and discussed the context in her previous college which she believes is a common experience in higher education. Male tutors there would very quickly get themselves involved in some fairly simple organisational change or some straightforward course development work. They would then use this as a lever for all sorts of personal benefits. She recognised that women tutors would also be involved in course development but would not 'use' this in the same way. It just doesn't occur to women to work in this way, to jostle for attention and manoeuvre for advancement.

They would get things like remission, they would get things like recognition. They would start agitating for promotion. They would expect seats on committees. They would expect to be given consideration when it came to other sorts of commitments - 'Oh yes, but I've got to do this'. Somehow their names would suddenly appear on more lists, as it were, in lights. I mean, obviously I have certain individuals in mind, and you wonder why you didn't think of doing that. Except that, except that it never occurred to you to do it. It never occurred to me to do it and I don't think it occurs to a lot of women.

Jenni became a head of department in her previous college and moved into a context where it was possible for her to observe and participate in decision-making at a much higher level. She says of this experience,

But, I was also aware that the very few women in management positions there had to fight for their position all the time, that they were constantly in danger of being outmanoeuvred.

In a very real sense there seems to be a complete volte-face here in relation to gendered roles. Arnot (84) has argued that

the way of achieving masculinity becomes therefore a process of devaluing women, of rejecting female objects, activities, emotions, interests. Boys learn to

eschew the domestic and to repress the emotional side of life. Unlike femininity which in a patriarchal society is ascribed, masculinity and manhood has to be achieved in a permanent state of struggles and confirmation.

(Arnot 84:47)

Jenni feels that women in higher education are placed in the position of always having to struggle to maintain their role and status. Indeed it could be argued, in the light of what Liz says about the dangers of 'emotionalism', that professional women and men almost exchange the discourses which were crucial to their earlier developments. Roles are ascribed to men in higher education as leaders, power-holders and dominant in the working world, in a man's world, while women have to perpetually struggle to hang onto these positions.

Jenni is very involved in the life of the college and also works as a warden in one of the halls of residence. She values this as it gives her access to students from all faculties and keeps her informed and aware of the students' concerns. She believes that Sacred Heart is shaped through, by and in a discourse of male dominance which is evidenced across the institution at all levels. It seeps into every aspect of living and working at Sacred Heart for all members of the college community.

Oh, yes. I think it's still there. I think, even though our students are overwhelmingly female, the typical student in the college picture of a typical student is a male one. And I think that the more students we get, and the higher proportion they are women, I think that female students are very conscious of this. They are very conscious, for example, of all the money that's spent on male sports here, all the attention that's paid to things like the student bar, which while very nice is not necessarily what they want. The way that the college leisure time activities revolve around male, masculine pursuits and they got very cross when they found that they'd been engaging in a fund-raising activity for what they thought was the students' union only to have it all go to the rugby club.

The other irony which Jenni notes is that the 'caring' element in the college is strongly paternalistic. For example the students are nearly always referred to as 'girls' and 'men'. Tutors who make a point of always using the word 'women' in meetings and in their documentation are in the minority. However, the fact that there are 'girls' in the college has meant that the governors and senior management have always accepted that women had to be given some senior posts; a paradoxical form of 'equality' indeed. In the past this meant that of the top three senior management posts, one would always be held by a women, but only one, and it would be a 'pastoral' rather than academic role.

The other thing is this rather comical position of quote 'someone for the girls'. I mean, as though, the girls are an exception and have to be looked after. The girls are the students now, the whole college is for the girls! The whole college should be looking after them! This is marginalisation of the vast majority of the student population.

Jenni comments on other issues which impact on the working lives of women in the college, which none of the other women mention directly. This may well be because, as dean, she is far more aware of the direct day-to-day influences on policy decisions. She argues that, in particular contexts, women are sometimes able to cross traditional roles and obtain power. The distinctiveness of being a woman can be amplified in a positive manner.

I think partly, partly because of the two cultures, male and female. It means, it's a bit like any culture which has a separate role, a very, quite an explicit role separation. In this discussion yesterday, we were talking about how many women prime ministers there'd been in Asia, in countries where you would not, you know - and I think it's because of this very different identity and positive identity. The crunch comes though, when, because there are no cross-overs, understandings and lines of power are very difficult to establish.

She thinks this is more possible in a denominational college. Her last college had been non-denominational so she is in a strong position to evaluate the complexities and differences which may result as a consequence of this. She thinks that women do have a special role within a Catholic discourse and although it may not be one which many feminists would want to espouse, nevertheless its existence can provide some leverage in difficult situations.

Women in a Catholic culture, do have a sort of identity - it may not be the one that we've got [feminists] - but they're, they're not just - um - chapesses, if you know what I mean. I really detest the word chapesses, it's sort of admitting you as a second-rate member of the male club, and I think in a Catholic culture they're not chapesses. They have their own place, their own identity, their own power, which is in a sense a power that's slightly frightening and makes people wary. For instance, there were more female heads of department here when I came, than there were where I came from, than I remember anywhere. And ferocious some of them were and very effective they were.

I think that it helped me when I first came. I think I was able to behave in a way that it would have been very difficult for a man to behave in and I think in an emergency that was a very useful thing because, there is this reticence about, well, you know what I mean. This sort of reticence about, I think, some of the time. I would have had a much more fierce and open opposition. They wouldn't have, sort of, tried to feed it in by a roundabout way. I would have been up against a definite obstacle and I think that it helped me enormously that people were, er, that people were reticent about that.

While she agrees with Liz and Eva that women have to do more of their own administrative work and generally get less background support than men, nevertheless she finds some use in all this in her present position.

I also think that in a strange sort of way, you know, I said just now that women were expected to do everything for themselves, they're running a course but that doesn't mean that they don't have to do their own typing, perhaps, or something like that, because.... oh, it's expected, you're supposed after all to run a home and have a career as well, so it's the same sort of bag. But that can work in your favour, too - the feeling that 'oh, you can take care of it. You'll look after it'. -There's something atavistic about it, that if you say 'Leave that to me' then they do. They don't somehow question the fact that you won't drop

it, you know. I don't know whether that's just in my mind, but at times I've felt that it was working in my favour, that particular feeling of actually your being able to cope with it, from little things to big things.

While it is probably true that when Jenni takes on a job in a single-handed manner and sees it through to the end, this strengthens her position, she does have a personal secretary who only works to her and she is able to commandeer other support as a matter of priority if she so wishes. Her requests will automatically take precedence. She is aware of problems in obtaining resource backing but she has not personally experienced the sorts of oppressive encounters which Eva and Liz have met with. And she is aware that her position as a very senior manager means that this difficulty is less likely to occur.

I've never come across, in the promotion stakes, at management level, any discrimination against women, or indeed any of the kinds of sexist remarks that you might get that maybe people aren't aware of. Having said that, it's not all plain sailing because, in fact, the power in the management lies with the men in the management and I think, when it comes to those implicit understandings that make it easier for you to get resources, get staff, be understood when you need to be understood, that's difficult for women.

I said I was more aware of it where I was before and I think partly, that was to do with position, although I became the head of department there - the thing is that schoolchildren are very often the best sociologists of education in the classroom because they have to be to survive. And if you're a lecturer, you have to be observant to find your way through - so that might be one reason why I felt it more keenly there than here.

Jackson (90:299) in her review of women working in higher education echoes this particular viewpoint. She found

no evidence of widespread and deliberate discrimination keeping women out of posts in Higher Education but rather a general indifference to whether or not they are being recruited. There is also a subtle set of attitudes which militates against their being promoted.

Jenni has not experienced any direct discrimination or heard any comments which she would interpret as sexist. But she is aware that Sacred Heart, like her previous college, is powerfully shaped in a masculine frame. In relation to being a woman senior manager, she does recognise some limitations. She cannot ever forget the position she is in and the expectations that other members of staff hold because she is a woman in this position. This cuts her off from certain outlets, certain levels of informal networking which are important parts of successful management of staff. This can isolate her to a certain extent. Because of her position she may not even have another women at a similar level in the institution with whom she can discuss matters which arise. What she has to do is minimise any differences and behave as men do. Jenni is under pressure to identify with male senior managers in the college (Marshall 84).

I think it's the nub of the whole thing in the sense that you haven't got the ways of letting, releasing the pressure, releasing a valve that the men have got. I mean, you know, you cannot, in fact - I cannot say to [any of the male managers] 'Let's go over to the bar and sort this out over the bar'. In fact, I have done that but in a very genteel way.... you actually can't behave like.... well, you can't. I dare say you could, but it would mean such a departure from propriety that you just can't do that. Neither have you got the female ways of letting off steam which is, maybe bursting into tears.

Having a thorough heart-to-heart with another woman, in which you can say everything, you know, - I mean, and afterwards, there is an understanding that nothing will be said. You know, in that hour you may have poured out your heart, you may have betrayed your dearest, closest relative in that time, because you feel sorry for yourself and that's how you feel at the moment but that's understood and it's a closed book afterwards. I can't do that, no, I can't. My safety valves, such as they are, because everybody has to have them, don't play back into the system in the way that safety valves should because going across to the bar with [any of the male managers] and drowning our sorrows, say I were a bloke and we did that, he would have a better understanding of me at the end. And, there would be that bond that would be carried forward.

Jenni is in a position where she represents Sacred Heart at meetings with top management from other institutions. Very frequently she is the only woman in these settings. At some of these meetings, other well-known women educationalists are sometimes mentioned in discussion. It seems at this point that underlying resentments and antagonisms assert themselves. Jenni has been very upset by the anger shown against some of these outstandingly successful women. In 1990, out of the fifty-seven institutions outside the university sector which undertook teacher education, only four had women principals and three of these colleges were denominational (NATFHE Yearbook). These very few women become individualised and seen as unique, almost as accidents of the system. However, as well as becoming "mascots or pioneers" (Sutherland 87) they are also subjected to male hostility. Hagen and Kahn (75) have illustrated how successful women are clearly disliked in the work setting. As Jenni says,

Isn't it funny! What is it, then, about women, that means that they have to be so much more, covered with medals and honours in order to be recognised? And when they are recognised as having a kind of distinction in any field, they - they are either regarded as one-offs, you know, or they come in for the kind of quite bitter criticism that I have noticed. I think they're neutralised. They're either turned into one-off stars or contained by criticism and by drawing attention to their personal characteristics in a way which nearly always works out negatively. I mean, I go back to [a well known woman in higher education] I've heard so much criticism of her lately, and it's quite rocked me, in a way, because I really don't know what they expect of that woman. She's attractive, she's glamorous, but she doesn't spend too much money on clothes. Is it that they would like to attack her for extravagance? She's very measured, and calm and cool in her manner so she is described as cold. What do they want? Excitability? Emotion? Would that please them? It seems to me that whatever - whatever you do, someone is going to find something wrong with it. I think that probably there is a glass ceiling. I would say that those that get through, you can always see special circumstances which allowed it.

Teaching as women's work - teaching as a career

On one level Jenni has been extremely successful in her career in teacher education and indeed she stands as a 'role model' for other women in the sector. At the same time it is perfectly clear to the other female tutors that she is a unique and atypical phenomenon. Indeed the 'pioneer model' may actually disguise the reality of the situation which is that nowadays women rarely succeed in this sector. When Liz reflects on her move from the LEA into the college sector she says,

But I don't see it as a particularly good move. I think the pyramid is just too narrow for a start, and also because of the proportion of males already in institutions. On a personal level, I don't think it was a good career move.

Eva is even more blunt

I think as soon as you introduce men onto the staff they bring the outside world with them, and the outside world is not a fair world, not an equal world, so you're going to bring all the stereotypical views, all the prejudices are going to come out.

They are both absolutely clear about the way the world operates and the way that Sacred Heart is organised. Women are definitely excluded from positions of power and, even where there are individual women in high positions like Jenni, they are forever having to battle and manoeuvre because 'women have to be so much more'. But the final irony resides with Eva and Liz who come into daily contact with the college students and who recognise gender inequality; their notions of 'professionalism', 'balance' and 'neutrality' then consciously intervene to shape their actions.

It's very tough. When I deal with male students who say they are interested in infants, I think yes, you'll be a head in six years. At the same time, neither of us would ever pass that onto the students, we don't go into it because it's a rocky boat, but you know that you're withholding the truth, you're withholding that reality when you're teaching.

Conclusions

The history of the role played by men and women in teacher education is a story of positions gained and lost again. Teacher education which was initially organised and controlled by churchmen, became a feminised division of labour but has once more become dominated by men. "This process began in the 1960s, gathered momentum during the 1970s and became a rout in the 1980s." (Heward 92:22). Heward believes that this shift occurred in part as a consequence of changes in the system; the move to an all-graduate teaching force, massive expansions as well as the move towards locating teacher education in the higher status institutions - polytechnics and universities. But importantly she asserts that it was due to a discursive shift, a change in the manner in which women's authority was regarded. The small women's colleges were

regarded as autocratic, run by 'spinsters' connected with elementary schooling rather than the academic grammar schools from which setting men were recruited in the 1960s onwards. Sexist discourse, then, has always served particular purposes.

Men's and women's professional authority are legitimated in different ways. In the Church of England there is a painful and protracted struggle over women's authority. In the universities it is at best precarious. In teacher education it was legitimated ultimately by the power of the Board of Education to withdraw grants, an early example of contract compliance. Once that policy was abandoned, without a framework of strong anti-discrimination legislation, the legitimation of sex segregation and academic qualifications was undermined by stigmatising all aspects of the education and institutions with which women's authority was formally associated.

(Heward 92:25)

The role of women has continued to be undermined and undervalued making it ever more difficult for women to attain positions of authority and control in an occupation which is vertically stratified to work against their best interests. However, although this chapter has had a particular concern with the position of women in teacher education, it is axiomatic that all structural inequalities need to be "contextualised in relation to the other" (Weis 90:2) if any real gains are to be made. Issues of class, 'race', disability, sexual orientation, as well as age, all need critical and relational consideration.

What this chapter has attempted to do through a focus on gender is to show up the manner in which just one of these categories actively shapes the perceptions, attitudes, as well as career prospects of those who work in teacher education. The situation for women in teacher education is similar to the position of all women at work. But the interpolating discourses of balance, neutrality, professionalism and even respectability, all part of the legacy of teacher education, make their situation less easy to contest. Doing the job of educating teachers is one thing but being a woman doing teacher education is quite another.

Introduction to Section Four

I have argued that issues related to the problems of supply and demand, and what counts as a 'good' teacher set against the need for cost effectiveness, have a long and enduring history in teacher education. But this history has been underpinned and given shape by the complex, dynamic and contradictory positioning of the state. The state plays a complex role, generally acting indirectly on behalf of capital accumulation to exclude any elements which threaten this process (Dale 89). The state provides 'value' through provisions such as hospitals, schools and teachers but in times of economic constraint, when cuts have to be made in public spending, the state redefines what is expected of it. Through the assertion of 'sense' the state undermines various value-based legitimations and 'sensible' cuts are made (Habermas 76). All this is managed through specific discursive formations which underwrite the interplay between value and sense by normalising and naturalising what has to take place. In this manner, changes in policy direction are made to seem sensible solutions to real problems.

I now want to examine what has been happening more recently in teacher education. Since 1979, there has been a discursive shift which has affected all elements of state provision. At its heart is the notion of the free market; it is the imperatives of the market which should determine and shape any welfare provision. Education has not been exempted from this ideological assault. There is a problem with the nation's schooling; it is not delivering the goods and the problem must be treated at source. Teacher education must be made more practical. It must deal directly with practical classroom concerns and with the 'basics'; no more wasted time on irrelevant theory. It must be made to correspond more closely to the rigours of the market. Cost effectiveness and quality need to be enhanced in a context of increasing accountability. Value and sense are worked together to reconstruct teacher education.

In response to various economic, political and cultural pressures, major changes have occurred in teacher education. The government has taken control of the numbers of student places as well as their distribution across institutions. Institutions have to bid for numbers and funding and, in this way, an internal market has been created. The government has also effectively taken over the content of courses. The setting up of CATE in 1984 made it mandatory that all courses be approved by the Secretary of State although at the same time, the government advocated routes into teaching which required little or no training. In 1988, the Education Reform Act required all state schools to deliver a national curriculum, which reflected a 'back to basics' movement in terms of what was to count as knowledge. The teacher education institutions had to be responsive to these new requirements. It was obvious when legislation was passed covering programmes of study, attainment targets and assessment for schools that all this would have to be reflected in teacher education courses.

In a contrasting move, the 'freeing up' of some additional routes into teaching was set against even more tightly and centrally-determined constraints on the 'traditional' routes - the PGCE and BEd. These were, and are, it is alleged, the courses which need reforming in order to raise the quality of teaching and learning in schools. Teacher education has been notified of a problem and has been supplied with a remedy in a very partial manner through the use of specific sets of discursive strategies. Discourses of derision (Ball 90) as well as omissions, partial pictures, half-truths and aggressive assertions about alleged failings and vested interests have fuelled attempts to reform teacher education.

It must be a matter of regret and concern to report that these dramatic shifts in policy have been undertaken without reference to the available research on teacher training. Research may be alluded to on occasion if it justifies a policy decision which will be taken anyway. More disturbingly, the academic educationalist or researcher may be denigrated in the most partial and unscholarly manner by the politically motivated commentator who pamphleteers in favour of a particular policy (cf. O'Hear 88).

(McNamara 90:123)

Although there are clear discursive positions being advanced within the formal arenas of policy making and these are reflected in current educational policy, it is fundamental to this study that there is no direct translation from policy to practice. In this section I want to trace this uneven and contradictory process through a consideration of the ways in which the teaching studies tutors at Sacred Heart manage, get round and cope with changes.

Innovations are interpreted and responded to on the basis of divergent 'interests' and the perspectives of different organisational members. The new possibilities for changing power relations and securing privileges, embedded within the innovations themselves, are resources for the micropolitical struggles that go on in institutions.

(Bowe, Ball and Gold 92:142)

I have already discussed two important micro-political aspects which influence the job of educating teachers; status and gender. I now want to consider some of the broader macro-constraints which act upon teacher education. I acknowledge the gap between theories which privilege either pluralism or economic determinism as fundamental explanatory forces and I would like to avoid any easy reductionism. But the history of teacher education shows that when proposed cuts have signalled closures, then that is what eventually happened. If the state asserts its power to move initial teacher education out of colleges and into schools, then, finally, it will happen. However,

Teacher educators have in the last decade struggled to continue to pursue their own professional ideals both in the spaces left untouched by government

directives and by attempting to transform those aspects of policy that must be obeyed.

(Furlong 92:180)

In this final section I investigate some of the consequences which the market is having for the work of educating teachers at Sacred Heart College. I examine how the tutors have coped with the demands of changes in government educational policy as embodied in CATE and the National Curriculum. Finally, I consider some of the conflicts and demands which characterise their work. The job of teacher education is constructed out of a multiplicity of concerns and issues that derive from the policy context, local micropolitical exchanges and personal commitments which together form 'the impossible job'.

Chapter Eight

Policy shifts.

Just as in nineteenth century England teachers were often seen to occupy a crucial role in the maintenance of social order but one which potentially they might abuse, so in recent years have successive governments looked to possible weaknesses in the teaching force as an explanation for what they perceive as broader failings within English society.

Whitty, Barton and Pollard (87:161)

For the Conservative Government it has become critical to improve teacher quality; this is seen as part of the wider project to produce 'better' schools which are needed to serve the government's vision of the future for Britain (although the meaning of 'quality' in this context is by no means clear or uncontested. See chapter nine).

Though the improvement of teaching quality is partly to be achieved through the introduction of appraisal schemes for serving teachers, the most tangible effects of the strategy have so far been felt largely within initial teacher education. While teacher education has been, in many ways, the Cinderella of the English Higher Education system, it has also been subjected to more changes in public policy than virtually any other section of that system'.

(Whitty et al 87:161)

These 'reforms' have their origins in a wide range of persistent discourses which pattern and embody teacher education. Indeed the discourse of reform itself is such that it can be used to shape a potent formation which can exclude and disguise any other construct. The need to improve quality in schools is part of public discourse which cannot easily be contested; things can always be made better - a very modernist and progressivist discourse indeed. Margaret Thatcher, John Major, various Secretaries of State for Education, most recently John Patten, have all been able to assert a language of "popular social and political beliefs which call attention to the need for innovation and change" (Popkewitz 87:ix). The Conservatives have identified themselves as the party in Britain which is serious about fulfilling a particular mission in contemporary society. They will seek to raise standards and expectations about schooling which were reduced and limited by egalitarianism and by comprehensivisation. Furthermore, academic research and the work of educational professionals are cast within this discourse as part of the problem (Black 92). Power and control over public provision is thus to be relocated to the consumer and the regulating state. And all this is presented as simple, rational, commonsense. As John Patten has written,

I regard my job as being aimed, primarily, at trying to help teachers to turn out the great middle-mass of boys and girls happier, better balanced and better qualified from school, and, more crucially, to make life better for that 'disadvantaged' group who have difficulties in learning or in breaking free from

the difficult conditions in which they are growing up.... Published tests and assessment will break the producers' monopoly, demystify education and provide real data about real education which is, pace Levi-Strauss, raw, not cooked. There will be no hiding place for under-performing professionals.... All this will do for the disadvantaged one third (of working class children failed by the comprehensive system) what we have never properly managed before, and that is to open doors more equally for all.

(Patten 92:21)

Via the key signifiers of choice, efficiency, competition and control, it has been relatively easy to develop a popular slogan system through which to shape a hegemony round schooling, teaching and teacher education. In relation to teacher education, what has been most seductive is the manner in which older discourses have been utilised to rebuild a critique which is able to gain support from some liberal educationalists as well as formations of the New Right. Popkewitz (87:ix) explains it like this:

Underlying the public criticism is an acceptance of the folklore and myths of institutional life. The discourse of our teacher education is a celebration about existing institutional patterns. The discussion takes for granted that the problems of teacher education are improving the relation between theory and practice, facilitating communication between university and school, extending practical experiences, and providing more training in science, computers and mathematics. The discourse of administrative change, efficient procedures and rational planning is made to seem as progressive, yet the practices conserve the power arrangements of schooling.

Popkewitz argues that a specific discursive strategy has been employed in order to bring off these public utterances, these particular slogans. What is occurring is that, through the articulation of discourses about theory and practice, the centrality of school experience and the need for particular forms of knowledge, other elements are pushed aside; particular and specific 'regimes of truth' are privileged which obscure alternative versions. Teacher education reform takes certain truths as self-evident; that teaching is best learned in a classroom; that unless the institutions are controlled they will develop inappropriate over-theoretical courses. A particularly potent discourse has been generated round the 'ivory-towered nature' of courses which, it is alleged, still focus on irrelevant theory derived from sociology, philosophy, psychology and history of education. Sheila Lawlor of the Centre for Policy Studies (a small but disproportionately influential right wing lobby group) has put it succinctly; "too much theory, not enough practice and too little common sense" were her charges (Times 6.1.92). And precisely because these charges were derived from particular 'regimes of truth' they won some cautious approval from certain parties within the educational establishment itself, notably David Hargreaves, Professor of Education at Cambridge University.

Teacher education, or training as it is now once more significantly referred to in all policy documentation, has to focus on making itself practical. It has to be concerned with delivering, implementing and testing the National Curriculum. It has to focus on classroom management in

order to restore discipline and order to a restless nation (cf. The Elton Report) and, if based in an HE institution, it has to fulfil certain centrally-determined criteria. If the route into teaching is school-based, these criteria still have to be addressed but the disciplining regime of CATE does not apply. And of course, the most direct disciplining of the teacher educational institutions - financial cuts, staff redundancies and in some cases perhaps closure - may still be imposed by the development of moves into school-based training for the traditional courses.

In this chapter I want to examine the effects that specific policy changes over the past eight years have had on the work of teacher education. I will consider what effects CATE and the National Curriculum have had on tutors at Sacred Heart College. A new policy climate has been articulated in which there has been a move from what Dale (89) has called 'licensed autonomy' where teacher educators had to have certain elements in their courses but then had some leeway, to a situation of ever more tightly 'regulated autonomy' where less and less space is left for tutors' professional judgement and where they are controlled through general 'disciplinary' effects. Within this environment, specific pressures and constraints are brought to bear on the work of educating teachers besides those already generated by the particular work setting as well as the professional needs, demands and pressures of working with students and colleagues. At the same time the tutors also have their own individual professional allegiances, their own personal philosophies which sometimes contradict one or more of the competing constraints and demands in their working lives (see Fig. 14).

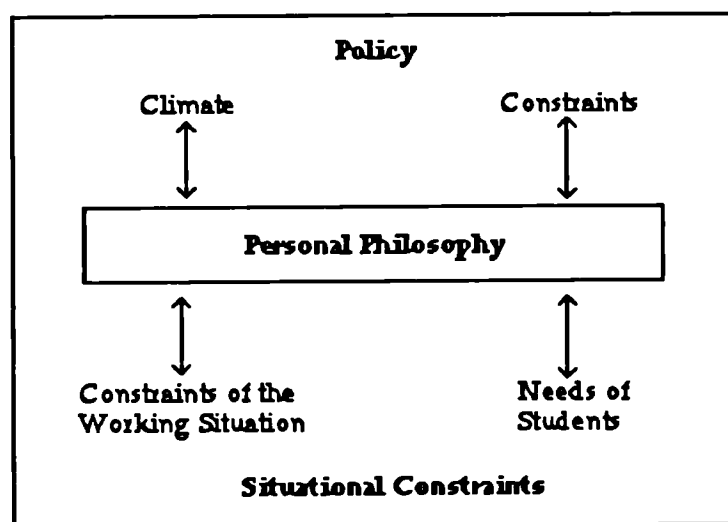


Figure 14 Interaction of pressures and constraints in the policy environment

'Climate' and constraints - CATE and the National Curriculum

At an early stage in 1987 I interviewed some of the senior members of the teaching studies faculty. Cicely, a senior manager with direct line-management relations to the academic vice principal, has worked at Sacred Heart for over twenty years. Anna has been at Sacred Heart since

the early 1970s. They have worked through the James Report period, diversification, moves towards an all-graduate profession, as well as experiencing the latest policy shifts of the mid-eighties onwards. They are in a good position to comment. Rose, Jeremy and Francis work as course directors. They are all key people, decision makers, team leaders who are well-informed with clear views about CATE and its impact on course design. All these tutors are key readers of policy texts.

Cicely said,

I think the criteria could have been helpful as little check-lists so that colleges could check that they are attending to all the things that need attending to because every college has within, its own prevailing culture with its own personalities and different interests. So it's quite a good way of moderating the thing across the country. But if it's an attempt to ensure that certain things are met then I think that we may as well go the whole hog as I suspect they will in the end, and have a national curriculum for teacher education. Because they are tying people up in knots, setting so many problems to solve within a very limited time. There's only a limited amount of solutions and they might just as well give everyone the solution right from the start.

However, Cicely did no teaching; her job was purely administrative. For her, coping with contemporary policy was a matter of managing to meet whatever had been prescribed. It was more of a practical problem. For example, the task of making sure that all the courses actually contained the right amount of hours of English or science or whatever was demanded by CATE concerned Cicely as she was responsible for dealing with CATE directly, and had to be able to indicate how and where certain requirements were delivered. Rose, who has overall responsibility for primary education and works with students and tutors on a daily basis, shared Cicely's concern but saw the problem more in relation to the students and tutors involved. Cicely and Rose see constraints but 'understand' and respond to these very differently.

I think it's crippling, it doesn't allow for any flair or any real flair to go across courses. I think it is protective in some ways in that it has a positive impact to make in that it does ensure that all students have some grounding, but it depends on who's teaching that course. That's always going to be a more critical factor in preparing a teacher. But I don't think the CATE criteria have been adequately thought about in terms of division of time, that's the greatest constraint and also I don't think that subject study has been adequately done.

(Rose)

Rose adheres to her personal philosophy of teacher education which recognises and pays attention to individual needs and personal autonomy. She has a commitment to a model of education which is centrally concerned with individual fulfilment. She believes that "part of [a students'] professional work is to learn how to survive and grow with people". But Rose experiences real tensions; she is responsible for course design and has to match these sorts of personal beliefs with the CATE criteria. For her, an appeal to the needs of the child helps to

overcome these tensions. She is caught up in a discourse which has been described elsewhere as “primary-speak” (Alexander 92) which, through a focus on the ‘needs of the child’ can effectively displace any broader political consideration.

I think we’re working from a strong belief that all the things we’re putting in the National Curriculum are going to be of value to all children and obviously then, the CATE criteria are going to bring about a valuable education for the teacher.

Rose is reaching for some resolution of her dilemma by subsuming all complexities under a consideration for the needs of children; if this is at the head then everything will fall into place. It is a form of a safety-net position which can soften the blow of any proposition. Where a policy is proposed, if Rose is able to accommodate it to this particular allegiance then she is able to live with the change. If tutors can see a space in which to work, then they can cope. Jones (89:84) has said,

Educationalists are adept at finding ‘spaces’ to work in. They eye each centralizing government initiative at first with horror, fury and awe.... After a time the awe lessens; denunciation diminishes from an angry shouting to an occasional murmur. There begins a period of calculation. How can this juggernaut, which obviously is not going to go away, be worked with?

After some initial worries the tutors at Sacred Heart have accommodated to CATE; some have called it a challenge which has opened up opportunities. For other tutors, CATE has led to a sharpening-up of and a focus on central questions related to whether all students need the same sort of course as well as questions related to the place and role of subject studies, school experience, and theory and practice. But the ‘juggernaut’ has its effects. Legislation redefines what is possible and sets limitations and constraints which have to be met. Although the course directors are optimistic and positive about CATE, they recognise the disciplining effects which impose a new framework of controls; time constraints on course development, constraints in staffing arrangements because of the requirement for all tutors to undertake regular school teaching experience. As Liz says,

I feel it’s a challenge I feel it’s a good challenge actually because I think it’s going to make us think more imaginatively about how we’re going to use our time.

Anna and Francis also saw a positive dimension; at least some issues of equality were now firmly on the agenda. Anna said,

When the first CATE documents came out I welcomed them because here are people saying we must have a multicultural dimension in everything we do and we must guard against preconceptions, teachers must guard against preconceptions based on race, gender or class, whatever, and I thought ‘Ah well, at last they say the sort of things I’ve been doing anyway for several years.’ So I welcomed those.

CATE does demand that student teachers "have a basic understanding of the type of society in which their pupils are growing up, with its cultural and racial mix" and it also demands that students "guard against any preconceptions based on the race or sex of the children in their care" (but note the silence about class) (Circ. 3/84). There is some space in the text for socially progressive intervention. But what is then crucial in any institution is who actually writes the courses. Francis wrote most of the secondary education courses in his subject area because more senior and more traditionalist tutors were happy to leave this 'chore' to him. He would actually be involved in the day-to-day teaching of this programme, too. So on the ground, where policy is translated into practice, if the key gatekeeper is as aware of the dilemmas and tensions as Francis is, then the course will hopefully be critical and analytical and not a reiteration of centrist dogma.

Jeremy recognises inherent contradictions in CATE;

I think in some respects CATE has helped. I think it's done a disservice in terminating extremely successful courses as perceived both by students and by tutors and indeed by schools as well. I think CATE has made course designers and course directors think rather more rigorously than they might have done about the design of the course. It has had the desired effect of focusing minds.

However, fundamentally, CATE was never intended to describe or advocate or facilitate debate. It was always intended to prescribe and define course design. At its heart was a clear ideological position. As Jeremy adds,

But plainly I would think it [CATE] would reveal a distrust or a mistrust at the very highest political level in teacher training to do that, to train teachers. At a very high political level there is a mistrust over what you and I would agree on as education as the development of critical faculties. The government is more interested in training and the development of marketable skills than in making its population become critical autonomous reasoning intellectual beings. There is a fundamental mistrust of the intellectual in favour of the material, the market, and I think teacher training was seen as that. There is now the hard nosed notion that all you need is strongly secure subject knowledge and the ability to deploy what is perceived to be recognisable and easily transferable classroom management skills and that's all required; hence the CATE notes.

Although what he says seems to me to be a fair assessment of the contemporary situation, clearly Jeremy is contesting the official definition of teacher education. He has been able to move beyond the surface text and has constructed an alternative reading. Other tutors make different readings of CATE and contest this in their teaching. An experience which Tony had, as a consequence of a recent HMI visitation, seems to illustrate this. Tony relates this particular interchange with HMI.

I think this hours thing [in the CATE criteria] as you probably know from my little conversation with the HMI last term, I'm not too happy about. But as you know one of them said, "Well, the only thing that I'm not happy about is that it is now only twenty to eleven and the session is due to finish at eleven. If they miss this much each week that's a lot of the [CATE] hours". Now what I didn't know was that they were well over the top for [the subject] but I didn't know that 'till afterwards. But my answer to her was, "Well, that kind of thinking is more or

less like saying to a class, 'Well, I want you to write an essay, I want you to write a story and I want two pages and it must finish on the bottom line of the second page.' Whereas I think the one thing we should be doing is getting away from those kinds of questions and that we look for the quality of the thing rather than the length". So you know, to put too much emphasis on the time of the thing I think that's wrong.

Tony, like Rose, is working with a conceptualisation of child-centred education but it is related to purposeful and meaningful task setting. He is relating to his own experience in primary classrooms. And these experiences help him to critique the official definitions. He took up the implications of this conversation with HMI formally with the dean, and informally with many tutors in the college. Overall though, it could be argued that what is being attempted through this particular hours-based 'working' of the CATE criteria is an attempt to deskill the tutors. Any intensive evaluation of effective teaching is being displaced by moves towards quantification, as signalled in the CATE criteria. Tony has not only recognised this but has actively engaged with the HMI, and the dean to debate the point that teaching is interactive and not quantitative. However, the 'juggernaut' of policy still stands and the CATE requirements are unaltered and must be satisfied.

In Sacred Heart, the courses 'as written', have been matched carefully to the CATE criteria. I believe this pressure to conform has been more directly felt by the smaller colleges than perhaps the university departments because the colleges had to do this in order to be externally validated as well as CATEd. However, much of the matching has been in relation to course titles and descriptions; what is taught by tutors is subject to change in the light of the teaching context and situational constraints. What is written and what is done do not always match, not necessarily because tutors are actively subverting policy but because of the very nature of the act of teaching which is always situationally constrained and partly reactive.

What this brief account has illustrated is that in Sacred Heart there have been varied responses to CATE. Initially it was regarded as constraining and 'crippling' but some tutors were able to recognise contradictory moments within the criteria and were able to use these to their own purposes, particularly in relation to equal opportunity. They were also able to critique CATE in relation to their own liberal humanistic notions of individualism and education. Whitty (91a: 2) has argued that

CATE has certainly left its mark and many teacher educators feel that their professionalism has not only been questioned but also compromised by government interference. But we noted that institutions had displayed differential wills and capacities to resist. Some institutions had basically done CATE's bidding regardless of their own beliefs, others had found ways of preserving most of their existing practices albeit sometimes under new labels, while a few had taken the CATE exercise as an opportunity to rethink their work in a positive manner.

In Sacred Heart it seems that all these responses have been elicited in varying degrees.

Policy constraints

CATE very quickly asserted a direct and unassailable influence on teacher education so that a tight prescription of hours meant that some innovative and unique aspects of various courses were trimmed or sacrificed in order that courses be CATEable. At the same time, it was becoming evident that some form of a National Curriculum was going to be imposed on all state schools which would have implications for teacher education. Many of the misgivings that school teachers held about the National Curriculum were paralleled in the college tutors' early reactions. Philip expresses what was a typical perspective at the start of the curriculum reforms.

I have misgivings about the principle of the National Curriculum in general while at the same time recognising that there's nothing that we can do about it because the political masters have made the rules. But you see, I also think that's a misplaced priority. It shouldn't be politicians who make decisions about education. It should be educationalists who make decisions just in the same way that politicians are now turning their attention to the national health service and they're not competent to make decisions about, you know, how many prescriptions a doctor ought to be able to write. Because those things ought not to be subject to financial controls they ought to be subject to what patients need. And it's the same thing in education but they're further along the line in education than they are in the health service.

Eva felt very negative about the proposals. She saw the job of educating teachers being perhaps recast in an instrumental and technicist manner rather than in any liberal humanist way.

My heart is a bit heavy at the moment because I think with a government so committed to a skills-based curriculum, it's going to need people to implement that skills-based curriculum and really, for that, you don't need thinking reflective teachers you actually need policemen, you need people who are going to police the school, who are going to implement it almost like robots. There won't be time for social education, for developing children as future citizens and human beings. It's actually going to be about how many exams they can get through so that they can get jobs which don't actually exist, which always makes me smile. So, if this government stays in power I think that is what we are heading towards. If you have teachers who just implement a National Curriculum then you don't need to waste four years of money educating them.

These initial reactions were common among school teachers and were well-rehearsed in educational journals of the period. Julie shared these concerns but could see some way out, although what she expressed was an individual response. (In fact very little discussion of these issues took place in the union meetings at the college and only two of the junior tutors joined in any collective attempts by national pressure groups to contest these changes).

They just want to produce a work force, an unthinking work force, so a lot of the business of teacher education is irrelevant to them. So they keep on whittling it down. They say they want people to deliver the National Curriculum. I think it's going to get worse....But I don't think the government is that efficient. My personal belief is, I think you know, because I'm a pacifist, I believe that as long as you're alive you can maintain your integrity, you can do your bit and I do

believe you do your bit wherever you are. But I don't believe that you compromise to such an extent that you lose what you're trying to say.

However, if a National Curriculum was going to become mandatory for state schools then the institutions which educated teachers would have to make sure that their students knew what was in the curriculum and what would be involved in this whole new process. Whatever their personal misgivings, they were not in a position to do much other than attempt to make the best of a fait-accompli; the 'juggernaut' of policy legislation had changed the context for practice.

In the college there were frequent complaints that schools were getting the glossy documents while tutors were being kept in the dark. Tutors with good school-links relied on these to keep up with the flood of papers. But some grassroots tutors, like grassroots teachers, did not always get the documentation. It took time to arrive, frequently it got 'lost' in the college system. This is an important and frequently overlooked dimension to policy change. Policy can be 'interrupted' by erratic communication. Indeed lack of information can actually mean that completely unintended outcomes occur. On the other hand, if there is too much documentation, then there is a strong possibility that it will not be read and policy will be 'lifted' from summaries or brief reports in journals. In a strong sense, policy implementation may indeed be undertaken through a cascade model or, more accurately, through a kind of institutional form of 'Chinese Whispers'. Even where documents are read first-hand policy recommendations are not always understood or read as intended.

At Sacred Heart there were different sets of problems about the National Curriculum. Subject tutors focused on their particular concerns, sending in responses to consultation documents when they could make the time. Educational Studies tutors, who were trying to maintain some form of overview, were very hard pressed. Everyone was anxious. Schools were starting to work with a National Curriculum which tutors had never taught. No one in the colleges had any experience of the major changes which it seemed that national testing was going to demand. Nonetheless, colleges had to ensure that students graduating each year and going out to schools on teaching practice were as well informed as possible. This entailed some changes in validated and CATED courses and their assessments in order to ensure that this happened.

This resulted in some rapid amendments. For example, where primary students had been set a task of making a book related to an environmental study, this had to have an insertion where the student demonstrated where the project would deliver specific attainment targets of the National Curriculum. The task had been specified in the new degree; the appendix of attainment targets was a hasty addition while the students were actually making the books. The final year examinations were pointedly focused on the demands of the National Curriculum and questions were slanted accordingly. Final-year BEd students, who usually spent time on extended

individual school-based research projects, were exposed to a short, sharp series of up-dating lectures, hastily prepared by tutors who had not long had sight of the relevant documentation.

We had to get something in on assessment for the fourth-years before they do interviews and get jobs so Trevor cobbled something together and did a big one-off [lecture]. He used to work in Berston so he did it from his notes from there. (Berston was one of the first local LEAs to focus on assessment).

(Ben)

Although this form of crisis response is now less common, institutions still have problems in rejigging courses in order to accommodate to the flow and changes in curriculum information. This has been a continuing process in subjects where the attainment targets have been subjected to frequent adjustments. Initially with CATE it seemed that the design of a degree would 'last' for a four-year period; now with the National Curriculum being implemented in stages over time, a four-year degree programme will need significant changes and constant tinkering while in process.

All this seems to be suggesting that policy and documentation is sent out and converted into course material and modules in a straightforward manner. But things are not that simple. Tutors have their own educational principles and philosophies which influence their day-to-day decisions and the manner in which they translate and reinterpret these texts. Some of the tutors were concerned that the demands of the National Curriculum on schools could restrict classroom practice and the experiences of student teachers. Particular concern was expressed about the constraints of national testing and assessment. For example, Lucy said very early on;

I am most concerned about the assessment and what that is going to do for learning mathematics in schools. We don't know what is going to happen with assessment yet and I think.... If you think that maybe looking at the National Curriculum it's not as bad as you might have feared in terms of its content, although I know that's a bit debatable, but even if it's not as bad as we fear, what's assessment on top of all that going to do? A lot of good practice in schools will be lost because we are going back to a situation in maths where teachers, I'm not blaming them, will be thinking about the assessment that's coming up and wanting to do the best for their pupils and the best is just about them getting a good number in those assessments.

Many of the subject tutors shared this concern about the possible limitations of national assessment, but other subjects were worried that they had no assessment at all. The PE department in the college was concerned that, unless their subject was treated in the same way as other subjects, they could become marginalised in the school as well as college curriculum.

Other sorts of pressures were put on particular subject areas. At Sacred Heart, music had been 'cut' at an earlier point and its presence maintained through one member of staff. However, the National Curriculum requires an input into all primary students' courses. Philip is aware of the

predicament which will have to be resolved. (And it has to be tackled fairly promptly. Changes have to be fed into courses as soon as possible).

I can see a situation arising very soon that unless every teacher is prepared to have a go and do something about music in the classroom.... then the schools will not be able to deliver the National Curriculum and teachers will be short - changing children.

Philip highlights an issue which has already been discussed; namely lack of information from the centre and confusion for tutors and teachers because of this.

You see because we're groping around in the dark. The National Curriculum working party (for music) has yet to be set up. That's to happen next year, I think in the spring. There's lots of confusion around because the date for the introduction of music to the curriculum has been published wrongly I gather in millions of leaflets which are to go out to schools in 1993-1994 when in fact it is due to be introduced in 1995 which gives us a bit of breathing space. And the current situation which up to Saturday I thought I was going to have to face.... I mean, the current entry of BA(QTS) students will have to teach the music part of the National Curriculum as soon as they go into their first appointment in four years time. But we don't know yet what the content of that is going to be so at least we've got a years grace on that.

At Sacred Heart the tutors experienced a variety of situational constraints; they had to deliver up-to-date courses which frequently meant changing sessions and lectures at short notice. They had to keep abreast of changes and keep up with new documentation which was not always passed to the relevant tutor. The institutional climate of Sacred Heart, a traditional, hierarchical, patriarchal system, meant that sometimes senior administrative staff were holding documents which were not passed on. For example, none of the grassroots tutors and not all of the course directors had sight of the CATE documents; and the course director who acted as receiver for the National Curriculum documents kept them locked in a cupboard to which he was the only key-holder - his students had more access to the documentation than some of his colleagues.

Students' needs and workplace constraints

The tutors at Sacred Heart have to manage specific pedagogical issues. They express concerns about the need to allow space for students to negotiate their own learning, and meeting what they see as sometimes different and competing needs of their students. The very act of teaching means that allowance has to be made for difference and sometimes different outcomes in parallel groups; so the needs of students become yet another situational constraint to the direct and unproblematic issue of delivering policy. Liz;

I think,.... well that's where the tricky bit is, doing that [meeting different needs] and getting through the course because Basia and I were talking about that yesterday. Planning the PGCE course for next term. And what we want is to have the space for the students to ask us what they want and for us to provide that. But we also have to provide a core that runs through, so if they say, 'Look, we feel really worried about teaching fractions'.... We're concerned that we want

them to be aware of the need for quality when asking children questions and adult child interaction, then somehow you have to work that into the thing about fractions in order to do the two things together. So there has to be the marrying up of what you know has to be there, and the needs of each group. Because as you know, every group is different.... and although we [Basia and Liz] work together, we work a side-by-side plan but what we do in groups can be really different because of responding to the needs of different students.

College tutors, as well as school teachers, share the same dilemma in delivering a National Curriculum; the difficult balance, if there is one, between the common/National and individual. The liberal-humanism of child-centred education enters into the tutors' interpretations; the curriculum, as process and experience, is constructed out of the interaction between what all students will need as well as what individuals require. Competing roles, competing expectations and a range of constraints at a micro as well as macro level, set the parameters of practice. This is a fundamental dilemma of coping with teaching (Pollard 82).

Liz regards the National Curriculum as an unfinished matter, something that is completed or enacted by the teacher. She sees the National Curriculum as providing a framework within which to work rather than a set of prescriptions to be delivered. In this way, she can attempt to reconcile or accommodate the tensions she experiences.

I mean, as this National Curriculum grows and more and more of these things come out [different subjects] we're going to be more and more elbowing each other for a time but these things end and we just have to find a better way of presenting them. Because I mean, the National Curriculum, it's a fait accompli it's not going to go away is it? So we have to work within it to do the best we possibly can.... In fact I think all this talk about the National Curriculum is rather spurious because to me, the National Curriculum document is a document you check into. You don't base everything on it and so we're working the way we should always have been working, except that the National Curriculum [she means CATE] is dictating how many hours should be spent on maths but I don't think anything much has changed.

Basia agrees with this but she is aware of other pedagogical issues which cannot be ignored or masked by a focus on programmes of study or attainment targets. Like the other tutors, she recognises tensions related to the specific needs of her students. In particular relation to maths teaching, she is aware that she frequently has to do a lot to combat fear and restore confidence in her students.

I always tackle the maths bit first because primary teachers are not mathematicians. I think they are but they think they're not. So the first thing I see is breaking down these barriers about what maths is. People have tremendous fears about maths.

Like Liz, Basia has specific beliefs about her subject, about children in school and about the needs of the students. She believes these elements should influence her work with intending teachers as much as anything else. Like Liz, Basia can see potential in the National Curriculum which she can

match with her particular interests to hand and her beliefs about maths teaching. Like Tony, she is quite happy to 'read' the documentation in an open and flexible manner.

I am not constrained in a sense, although there's lots of things I don't like about it. I think what it does is help the non-mathematician to see maths in a broader perspective because, say number, and there's only four or five attainment targets and there's fourteen or so aspects altogether so you've got lots of other areas. And I think from that point of view it's a help. I don't feel constrained because I don't think I can cover everything about maths in initial training. This is how we apply the principles, this is how we teach this, this or whatever. I like that because you go out and you apply the same principles. You can't cover it all.

Overall the tutors have little choice but to ensure their students are as well-prepared as possible in matters related to the National Curriculum. But any learning is a constant negotiated interchange whether with school or college students. The National Curriculum, its attainment targets and programmes of study, become part of the bricolage of teacher education. They do not overwhelm or displace; they compete and are accommodated alongside other priorities, expectations, needs and influences.

Personal philosophies

Pollard (82:22) has argued that teachers coping strategies are "the product of creative actors acting meaningfully". He argues that

in the interactive context of the classroom each unique participant child or teacher will seek to 'realise' his or her own self-conception by acting and by 'presenting themselves' in ways which are most favourable to their perceived interests and coping needs

(Pollard 82:30).

These interests are not merely self-serving vested interests but relate to belief systems and, in the case of teachers, professional knowledge and commitments, ethics and morality. Although Pollard is analysing the coping strategies of classroom teachers much of what he says bears upon the work of the teaching studies tutor. The personal biography of individual tutors, their political understandings and their philosophical perspectives exert another set of constraints upon their working lives.

Eva and Tony are concerned that current policy will seriously restrict their work and will result in a return to an inappropriate curriculum in teacher education. Eva sums it up quite clearly.

Institutions like this are jolly expensive and it's a matter of, you know, never mind the quality, feel the width, let's get it going, let's get teachers in school on the cheap and if you provide a National Curriculum which a chimpanzee could follow, which is getting children through bench marks, then really, actually you don't need that much training really because you're right back to Mr. Gradgrind of 'Hard Times' and facts, facts, facts and that's all that matters.

Tony recognises a tension in the constraints involved with his work (see Fig. 14). Fixed criteria and rigid content prescription can operate against responsive adaptation to different students' needs. He says, "I think that the course outlines mustn't be a strait jacket. Different groups need different things.... You know, you've got three groups and they tend to be going in different ways". He believes that the quality of provision should be the most important factor, not just the quantity of time allocated to a course.

So how do tutors manage to accommodate to the pressures and demands of these contemporary innovations? Rose is concerned that an overt focus on practical issues and skills development has displaced more important concerns. She copes by holding onto a philosophy of child development as a way through misguided policy.

I think that we're working from quite a strong belief that all the things that we're putting into the National Curriculum are going to be of value to all children and obviously then the CATE criteria is going to bring about a valuable education for the teacher. But I don't think the philosophy has been fully explored.

But is this all just making the best of a bad job? Francis recognises real pragmatic and political tensions which he experiences in his teaching with secondary student teachers. Teacher educators are in no position at the moment to engage in strong strategies toward displacement of 'reforms', the general effects and impact of the national curriculum and testing seem irreversible; adaptations in and around the specifics of change are small-scale and perhaps only symbolic.

Well, it's very difficult because the students now are much less radical than they were ten years ago and if you publicly defame the current ideology, what's going to happen is that you'll be accused of left-wing bias. If you're fair minded and up-front, which well, one has to try to be, you have to look at what's being suggested for education and see if there's any justification for it. You end up not saying very much. And if you're agreeing with them which in a sense you have to, because things like assessment and attainment targets, they're all in the new validation and you have to say, why are they there? They wouldn't have been there four years ago, no one's going to tell you that they would have been.... and they are there because we have to buckle down if we want to survive as an institution. We have to buckle down. But what you write isn't necessarily what you teach. I think one does subvert a little bit as far as one can.... there's also all the hidden messages that one gives students

There seem to be two models or accounts here; a major change/radical adoption model set alongside a minor change/adaptation model. But the tutors recognise another dimension to what is going on. As Liz says, "it makes you feel that it's the deprofessionalisation of teachers, they are making it a job that anyone can do." And Francis has perhaps the most overt political interpretation.

I think the agenda is, yes they do need semi-skilled workers, but there are no higher principles at work, it's a purely economic argument.... Industry needs lots of skills so we'll set attainment targets for these and they will sacrifice hundreds and thousands of kids to the dustbin because at rock bottom it's about the market. In a free market economy with increased competition and cutting costs

it's all about cutting costs. It's all about people paying for education, the middle classes getting into their schools where they will survive and all the others will be sacrificed. And they're not stupid, it's quite deliberate, they're conscious, they know exactly what they're doing.

What has occurred is that two substantial policy changes have taken place which have direct implications for the college-based routes into teaching. One of these changes [CATE] is a concern with the requirement to demonstrably satisfy specific prescriptive criteria. The other change is less prescribed, at least for teacher education, but nevertheless just as mandatory, and relates to the need to prepare new teachers for the rigours of the National Curriculum. Teacher education is being ever more tightly confined and restricted by parts of legislation and elements of contemporary policy. What the data suggests is that tutors deal with policy matters, accommodate to and read policy documentation in a professionally oriented manner in the light of specific situational constraints as well as what they see as the 'practical' needs of the classroom practitioner.

Understanding how tutors deal with policy

At this point I wish to consider more directly the process which people go through when they read and interpret policy documentation. Texts are read in a variety of ways depending on the text itself as well as the life experiences of the reader. Obviously some texts are only capable of a limited variety of readings but it is central to this study that a reader always has a genuine if sometimes restricted role.

From what the tutors have to say about various aspects of policy change, the position seems to be that although initially tutors found elements of the National Curriculum and CATE prescriptive and they recognised CATE's ideological underpinning, they were able to find some space for manoeuvre. But the juggernaut of policy change had clearly redefined the terrain and these policy enactments were not going away. Constraints were recognised but the tutors interviewed still seemed to believe that they could mediate policy in order to achieve their own agendas of effective teacher education, particularly in relation to meeting the needs of their students as well as children in school. Perhaps they need to believe this in order to maintain a positive self-conceptualisation or even to maintain a distinction between coping and colluding.

Any 'mediation of policy' will have different outcomes in practice because of a range of important factors; the philosophy of individual tutors; the effects of the culture of the institution; the various constraints experienced in daily working lives (Pollard 82). For some who adhere to an apolitical version of children's needs, perhaps set alongside the need for institutional survival, the outcome might only result in status-quo maintenance. For some of the tutors at Sacred Heart whose biography, faith commitment and respect for authority have encouraged passivity and acceptance, the task may only be one of implementing policy as quickly as possible. For others, a

defence of professional commitments has been mounted through support for the “reflective practitioner” movement which might carry more potential for socially progressive change (Furlong 92:180).

One particular analytical concept which illuminates this issue of ‘reading’ policy is related to the work of Roland Barthes (70). He argued that people mediate what is written so that essentially there is no objective text and no single reading to be made. The whole process of reading is enactive, readers reconstruct their own meaning from a text in the light of a variety of factors like material reality, past and present experience, aspirations, desire and fear. In Barthes’ terms, the reader may either become a ‘creator’ with a role in the reading process or they may be ‘conscripted by the text’ (Hawkes 77). They may either have a readerly and static role where what is to happen is read off as prescriptions for action, or the reader may have a writerly and creative response where revisions are made to the original concepts. Senior managers who may believe that their prior commitment is to the survival of the institution may interpret policy in a ‘readerly’ manner, while junior tutors who have to engage with and respond to policy in the light of their teaching, student demands and the needs of the schools, may well have a pragmatic as well as ideological need to ‘rewrite’ the text.

Barthes has always argued that all texts which take up any form of a critical position have within them complex political and economic discourses which are sometimes disguised (Hawkes 77). One of the functions of ‘writerly’ activity is to make these evident as well as re-writing them in action. This is certainly what is happening in the college with the National Curriculum and CATE. However, the degree to which any ‘rewriting’ occurs may well be related to the life experience and work experiences of the tutors concerned. Research undertaken by Whitty, Barton & Pollard (87) has suggested that tutors appointed post-1984, because of their school experience, would tend to hold a perspective which relates to practical classroom concerns, while tutors appointed before this date who identified with a more ‘traditional’ study of education would be more inclined to a wider-ranging analysis. I found no direct evidence to support this finding. It seems there are more subtle explanations than year of appointment which account for prior commitments.

Outcomes from policy are never inevitable; they get shifted and distorted by the people who work within the policies. Tutors will change their teaching in the light of interactions with students as well as the National Curriculum, they will contest issues with HMIs and they will attempt to match their work to their beliefs and values as well as the CATE criteria, although this accommodation and compromise may become harder and harder to achieve. Many of the creative ‘writerly’ responses emerge from the struggles which take place over course design and over who actually gets to write courses, but also in meetings and in the micropolitical context of corridors and tutors’ rooms. As Bowe, Ball and Gold have argued (92:15)

Texts carry with them both possibilities and constraints, contradictions and spaces. The reality of policy in practice depends upon the compromises and accommodation to these in particular settings.

Just because some tutors believe they are able to manipulate the National Curriculum and the CATE criteria to their own purposes, this does not mean that a critical connection between knowledge and power has been forged or that an agenda of emancipatory political action is underway. But if manipulation helps to subvert or critique the dominant discursive formation, then the process of 'writerly' response may reveal additional possibilities for advance. Policy making is not over once legislation has been enacted; contestations, debates and compromises continue.

It is crucial to recognise that the analysis of the noise and heat of reform and the making of national policy still begs questions about the implementation and realisation of reform in schools and classrooms. The struggles over interpretation and accommodation go on.

Ball (90:214)

Chapter Nine

Cuts and Quality

During the post war years, higher education has been characterised by a move from an elite towards a mass system and by conflicts over control and funding (Pratt and Hillier 91). Many institutions have expanded, upgraded or amalgamated to meet accelerating demands for places. More students have participated in higher education, particularly through the expansion of non-university institutions which has led to increased calls for centralisation of the control and funding of higher education, in order to reduce costs, avoid unnecessary duplication and insert some form of parity of provision through pricing mechanisms.

These trends have gathered considerable momentum in recent times and have taken on a specific focus. The Conservative Government have a stated commitment to increasing access to higher education, and to making educational provision more responsive to the economic needs of the nation by introducing the disciplines of market competitiveness to ensure efficiency. John McGregor, then Secretary of State for Education, speaking at the North of England Conference in 1989, expressed his government's commitment to these measures. He emphasised the need to expand vocational areas such as engineering and science. He argued that public sector higher education had to consider issues of manpower planning and needed stronger links with industry and commerce. Increased management objectives, themes like accountability, efficiency as well as quality, would improve the sector. Finally, all institutions needed to seek additional methods of earning money for themselves because higher education could not "realistically expect to win a significantly greater share of public spending than it has now" (McGregor 89). All of these aspects were eventually incorporated into the Polytechnic and Funding Councils (PCFC) paper 'Funding Choices' (1989). As Williams (90:77) has pointed out, the effects of this were to ensure that

All Higher Education institutions will be under considerable pressure to increase student numbers and reduce average costs. It is indeed an explicitly stated government policy to increase student numbers during the 1990's much more than increases in public funding.

A new discursive and funding framework for the planning and management of higher education was firmly established in this flurry of rhetoric, policy documentation and the setting up of new funding agencies. (The same concepts were set in place in similar form in what was then the university higher education sector).

Throughout the sixties and early seventies many more people aspired to some form of higher education which was recognised by all governments. But by 1979 it was evident that unlimited expansion was a costly enterprise. From 1979 onwards Conservative Government policies on

public sector spending made it clear that the expansion in student numbers would not be brought about by increased HE expenditure. Indeed the main thrust of Conservative economic policy was to replace the idea of growth through increasing expenditure with the idea of growth by more efficient uses of existing resources. "Public expenditure needed to be constrained to enhance the opportunity for the private sector of the economy to develop" (Pratt and Silverman 88:115). It was believed that in the public sector of higher education spending was out of control and needed regulation. Higher education had to be made cost effective. But first it needed to be brought under control.

This had been attempted on previous occasions (cf. the White Paper of 1966) but in 1977 a working party was set up to review management in higher education. It recommended the establishment of a National Steering Group to undertake this work (the Oakes Report 1978). In 1981, the DES published a document announcing the need for a centralising body in order to cut down any wasteful duplication and improve funding arrangements which had been 'pooled' in the past. In 1982 the National Advisory Body for Local Authority Higher Education (NAB), which included the voluntary colleges, was set up and its remit was to control the provision and funding of all advanced further education.

NAB relied on a unit-funding system. Institutions were granted funding in relation to the number of students enrolled on nineteen different 'programme areas'. Some of these areas attracted more money than others. For example, science students earned more than humanities undergraduates. However, institutions were able to spend the money as they liked. The overall expenditure total was subject to revision from year to year. NAB attempted to redistribute funds according to economic relevance as well as geographical distribution of students (Pratt and Silverman 88). But by 1987, only five years after NAB's inception, the Government was not satisfied with its achievements. Another White Paper, 'Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge' (1987) announced the need for more changes which were duly incorporated into the Education Reform Act of 1988. Briefly, this granted corporate status to the polytechnics and major colleges of higher education which effectively removed them from the control of local authorities. At the same time the Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC) was established in order to allocate government funds across the sector.

At the heart of this development was a 'bidding' process. Each institution was granted 95% of its previous funding allocation and was invited to 'bid' for the deficit against other institutions. (It is important to consider what a 5% reduction of any budget could mean. Where perhaps eighty per cent of funds might be committed to salary costs, a reduction in funding of five per cent could result in drastic cuts in library provision, consumable stock, part time tutors. A reduction of this size would be more pressing in higher-cost locales). The nineteen 'programme areas' were reduced to nine constituents for bidding purposes. The idea was that each institution

would put together a package in which it would propose a price for a particular group and number of students. Each institution could enrol above these numbers but would only receive the fees for the 'bid' students; there would be no additional money from the PCFC for numbers recruited above the bid. The actual costings for each category were to be set by the bidding institutions. The PCFC provided a check-list of lowest, median and high pricing for each programme area and then left each institution to get on with it.

What emerged was a new kind of cost-based competition for funds, which inter-related with competition for recruitment of new students (in order to maintain or expand income). But it was impossible for institutions to consult or think too long about this process. The PCFC had created a time scale which was particularly tight. Institutions were asked to submit responses to a range of methods for bidding by April 1989. In June, a decision was reached about the techniques to be employed. By October 1989, all submissions of bids had to be with the PCFC. Institutions had little time to consult staff or academic boards. Crucially, the response had to be completed in the summer vacation period. This strategy of requiring a speedy response at a 'difficult' period in the academic year has been a generic feature of the manner in which the Conservative Governments have managed educational change, making proper consultation, debate and public response extremely difficult.

Funding changes presented acute problems for the public sector institutions. They had to cope with one major change (NAB) in the early eighties which was just settling down when another highly complex and untried procedure was thrust upon them at extremely short notice. Since 1984, the colleges had been muddling through constantly changing rules and objectives (Pratt and Silverman 88). From 1989, they had to start again with a different set of objectives and imperatives. But the underlying message was clear; competition would "secure a system which plays its part in meeting the social and economic needs of the nation" (PCFC 89).

Bidding for funds in the PCFC sector

John Caines, a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the DFE regarded the developments outlined above as a move to greater freedom for the institutions. Speaking to a seminar of disgruntled senior managers of public sector institutions, he announced that for a country with "such a strong tradition of independence from state diktat" it was ironic that "we seem to have so organised things that [HE institutions] have become dependent for much of their funding upon the money which the government of the day extracts from the taxpayers of the nation". Caines continued with his musings;

Dependence on the politician for money ends up with people having to dance to the politician's tune. Far from lamenting the demise of deficit funding and the

dearth of public money, rejoice - for that way can lead to greater freedom

(in Terry 90:22).

What all these changes amount to is a form of "steering at a distance" (Kickert 91) and what Ball (92a:5) has described as a "new paradigm of public governance", "a 'no-hands' form of control".

Steering at a distance is an alternative to coercive/prescriptive control. Constraints are replaced by incentives. Prescription is replaced by ex-post accountability based upon quality or outcome assessments. Coercion is replaced by self-steering - the appearance of autonomy. And opposition and resistance are side-stepped, displaced.

(Ball 92a:5).

Pratt and Hillier (91) undertook a comparative study of the process and consequences of the new bidding arrangements for five PCFC institutions. They highlighted the "almost insurmountable problems in creating and responding to a bidding system"(p152). They recognised that this system

marked a considerable departure from the funding patterns of the past and embodied concepts which had been alien to traditional British higher education.... Bidding implies that - and is meant to enhance the extent to which - institutions are in competition with each other, operating in a market.

(Pratt and Hillier 91:1).

In their study of the decision-making process in five institutions, where each adopted a different strategy, there was one common outcome. In "all of them, the key decisions were taken by a small executive" (Pratt and Hillier 91:26). Institutions decided to bid over, under or at the median price; second-guessing, secrecy and lack of time to consult, characterised the whole process. Institutions were critically concerned 'to get the bid right'. They had to second-guess the number of students they would recruit. They had to allow for drop-out so their numbers had to be inflated but they could not afford to under-recruit as this could result in monies being clawed back. Neither did they want to over-recruit as fees-only students would not produce enough money and over-recruitment could result in higher targets being set on next year's bid. The process is still taking shape, but it is generally regarded as having driven down costs while promoting unprecedented expansion (Williams 90, Terry 90).

Decision making at Sacred Heart

Our time was bound up with making rapid financially driven decisions that full discussion wasn't possible. The academic council [full staff meeting] didn't always understand the implications but we had to manage. We just had to press on. Life was hectic and extremely stressful, we really didn't have the time to stop and chat about what was going on. It seemed to have a life of its own, its own momentum.

(Senior Manager).

Sacred Heart College has been no less subject to the changes and pressures described above than any public sector HE institution. As regards the post -1988 PCFC system, the Sacred Heart bid had to be prepared and submitted as quickly as possible and it had to be right. Although some senior members of the academic board were aware of the complexities and demands of this brave new bidding world, the majority of the staff knew little of either the new requirements or the college's responses to them. For instance in 1989, when 'Funding Choices' was sent to all institutions for discussion, very few of the tutors interviewed were even aware of its existence. The more informed tutors were those who sat on the academic board and who were interested in management issues. Two course directors and the dean were members of the board but no grassroots teaching studies tutors were members.

The academic board considered the proposed changes and the implications of these for Sacred Heart, eventually the key decisions were made and the bid was prepared by a very small number of people; the Principal and the Bursar, with a Senior Administrative Officer. This caused some disquiet at the time. Lucy, head of department of one of the subject areas and a member of the academic board said,

The academic board is held in contempt by certain members of senior management and the other tutors see it as a duty that has to go on and if anything let's get through it and allow people to have their say but let's not really use that in order to make decisions.

The academic board appeared to operate simply as an arena for conveying news rather than a consultative or executive forum. Lucy became aware of this somewhat cavalier attitude towards consultation when she became a head of department. As she said, "it's when you start to get to know more about what is going on, when you start representing the department on things and just generally getting involved at that sort of level you begin to find out more". So the teaching studies tutors, who are under-represented in middle management teams and are mainly non-unionised, would be less able to participate in debate where such opportunities existed and might not even be aware of any finance policy changes at all.

This lack of awareness and lack of involvement might be related to the ethos and culture of Sacred Heart where there is a clear hierarchy of management and an acceptance of the status

quo. In a denominational college, the clergy may well assume a dominance to which others have to defer. Philip explains,

the Catholic ethos stands in this place against real change and development because the Catholic ethos towards the parish priest is involved. Deference, yes we love you Father, the very fact that they call (them) Father, do you see. That attitude is imbibed with their mothers' milk by every Catholic child.... and that is part of the problem in an institution whichhas a fairly high proportion of staff who are Catholics and have this bred into them.

There is also the culture of teaching itself - apolitical and neutral - which might mean that teaching studies tutors are less likely to be interested in economic or political issues in their work setting. They are perhaps content to leave decision-making to management and take little interest in policy change, preferring to concentrate on their students' needs.

But this lack of awareness and lack of involvement might be related to other sets of questions. Ball (87:21) believes that not all people in organisations are politically involved or aware. Instead he asks whether "social actors in the organisation [are] primarily in pursuit of their self interest or are they much more concerned with personal development and the achievement of self-realisation?" It is difficult to come to any easy resolution of this complex issue. Much will depend on the situation, the particular issue as well as individual responses to these. Baldrige (71) has suggested (based on his work on New York University) that there are four types of social actors; officials, activists, attentives and apathetics. The officials sit on committees and are intimately involved in running the organisation. The activists are involved in interrogation of policy, they lobby for change and attempt to influence policy. The attentives are aware of what is going on and tend only to get involved at major points, for example closures or massive cuts. The apathetics "almost never serve on committees, rarely show up for faculty meetings and in general, could not care less" (Baldrige 71:178). At Sacred Heart the members of teaching studies appear to be 'apathetics' in some cases or 'attentives' at most, although their inaction may be due to long-term marginalisation as well as to the pressures and amount of time needed to complete their work.

Lucy is an activist/official; "everything has changed outside college but nothing has changed, or let's say the management at the top don't want things to change". She recognises that the power at Sacred Heart is vested in a very small group of people who can promote whatever policy they like on the basis of economic exigency. The new forms of control and constraint widen the gap between managers and teachers.

Basically it does seem quite curious but the academic board has no power. It can only make recommendations to the governors and the governors make a lot of the decisions. The Academic Vice Principal actually isn't even party to a lot of the decisions. They take place not even with the whole of the board of the governors but just a small group of the governors, of which the Principal is one. And not being able to deal with financial matters, not knowing anything about

financial matters in the college is a great handicap. The people who are responsible for financial matters are the Principal and the Bursar.

The development of budget-led systems empowers senior managers as decision-makers (in some respects) while disempowering the 'activists' and 'attentives' among the teaching staff. Members of the academic board like Lucy and Philip who are respected, well-informed and politically-astute members of the academic staff regard the management as at best ineffective. Lucy is concerned that senior management are not always fully briefed or able to support new projects. They seem unable to appreciate the costings/staffing needs of in-service education, for example, and have been unresponsive to some of her proposals.

There are a number of things I have to do as a Head of Department. You go to the so called 'experts' to discover things to help you out in terms of what you are doing and you find that they are not experts at all, not in any sense of the word, and it's not very reassuring.

Lucy accepts to some extent that this happens in most institutions but is concerned that Sacred Heart has not been responsive enough to policy shifts which were clearly discernible. For example, Sacred Heart did very little to boost its income, unlike other voluntary colleges which developed extensive in-service programmes, and Lucy believes that "one can only assume that the governors and the Principal are living in a different world". This raises another question: is the culture of management at Sacred Heart ill-equipped to accommodate to the financial and entrepreneurial demands of the new policy paradigm? Lucy;

We are very pushed in terms of staff and at the moment, perhaps it will change, it seems impossible to run a course at a realistic costing, so we could buy people in either to take over some of the courses that are run by the department already or to get them to do the in-service courses you want, going under the name that Sacred Heart is organising it, or us getting into the market and being seen to get into the market. There is no sense of [senior management] investing money because it will generate money, no sense at all of that at whatever level, even comparatively small sums of money. They won't.

Lucy, more than anyone else I interviewed, understood the complexities of the new funding arrangements. She was extremely concerned that there was little debate, that very few understood the issues and saw that it was going to be acutely difficult for smaller colleges to withstand these pressures. She highlighted the issue of quality.

I think the next few years are critical for Sacred Heart as they will be for other institutions who are being confronted by the PCFC. I honestly don't know how small institutions, who are spread very thin, how they're going to manage to survive. It seems to me that 1992 is a significant year. Each year we know that the amount of money that's going to be guaranteed by PCFC is going to be smaller and smaller and that's a smaller percentage of a smaller amount. Also everything is up in the air as far as the bidding is concerned. No one knows. Sacred Heart is not alone in this. Every PCFC institution has no idea what the reference points are going to be, what the bench-marks are in terms of bidding, whether it is going to be cheapness or whether quality is going to come into it.

Lucy had a very cynical view of the 'real' function of the PCFC arrangements. Pratt and Hillier (91:53) found "considerable strength of feeling" and "the atmosphere during our first round of case study visits was often one we interpreted as close to paranoia". This is not surprising. Lucy commented

I think it's a palatable way of closing institutions. So, in other words, the Government is not actually seen to be closing institutions, they close themselves but this is, of course, a direct change in the budgeting and funding organisations.

Part of 'steering at a distance' is getting institutions to control and 'restructure' themselves. If they eventually have to close because of 'inefficiency', it is their own fault. Lucy identified the contradictions which beset Sacred Heart College in the new context of the market place, a place which Sacred Heart seemed signally ill-equipped to deal with. Here again it is possible to discern the 'look no hands' effect of 'steering at a distance'.

I suppose there might be some big places that would be similar but it will have a very bad effect here because we are not terribly good at generating our own money. The governors don't want us to generate our own money. They don't want it to be seen as a big commercial organisation. Well I can understand all of that, nobody wants higher education to be in the sort of situation where you have to generate money in order to survive, because that's not what education is all about. But, if we find ourselves in that climate, we are going to have to go along with it or we'll go to the wall I suppose.

The senior management -heads of departments, vice principals and administrative members - were aware of the issues and long term problems involved in the bidding process. One of the senior managers said,

What can we do? If we are too successful, we'll be penalised for it later. If we under-recruit, we'll close. We're bidding in the dark and we don't know that we're not contributing to our own demise.

But during 1989, across the whole college staff, there was little or no awareness of the complexities and likely effects of the bidding process. For example, teaching studies tutors would be more likely to read the TES rather than the THES and they would be less likely to be informed about issues in their particular sector and rather better informed about changes in schools.

The massive changes involved in the new PCFC arrangements generated many difficult problems. The bidding process was complex and unclear yet it seemed set to produce winners and losers. At Sacred Heart the decisions were taken by an extremely small group of individuals and the decision makers at Sacred Heart did not have the confidence of many members of the academic board. There was no consultation and bids were submitted which were not shown to the Heads of Departments or the Deans of Faculty. For those who worked in teaching studies,

there was some awareness of these developments but no real concern or understanding of the revolutionary nature of the changes which were taking place.

Bidding and teacher education

In a recent discussion with Louise, the director of the secondary PGCE, it was evident that the situation is still the same at time of writing (1993). Very few teaching studies tutors understand the process, it is difficult to get information and decisions are still being made - by two or three people at the most - which have direct outcomes for the job of teaching teachers. However, Louise was aware of the way in which the PCFC arrangements work and had made it her business to find out.

The management make the bid. [the bursar] and [the academic vice principal] make the bid without consulting. The bid is made under subject headings and the bids go to the PCFC under a science/humanities split. Each college makes up its own charge - that is, the amount it will have to charge to fund a teacher in training at the institution. Then the institution has to deliver the course at that costing.

Louise reported that there was no consultation between the course director and senior managers, merely some informal discussion. She says "In actual fact I was never given the numbers". She is aware that technically the PCFC can claw back money if a college under-recruits. Thus in practice "you always have to over-recruit". Because of this delicate balance "You are walking on a tightrope the whole time". The refined control of the bidding and funding system is evident here - as the machinery of self-monitoring and self-discipline. While management gives the appearance of autonomous control, in effect it operates as a vehicle for passing down a set of disciplines and constraints which are unclear and changing.

You have to be really careful because if you over-recruit too much you will get a good number for the following year but you might not be able to sustain this when the recession ends and then, if there is a substantial gap, money will be clawed back and you will have to face the consequences.

Louise believes that, around December, a decision is made about numbers for the following year's intake. She has been able to have a sight of the forms, but only as a "friendly favour". This means that she does at least have an idea of what might happen. But the process is at all times unpredictable because, for example, if an institution puts in a bid for 24 students it might only get 15 fully funded places. Louise has to interview prospective students, not knowing exactly when to shut the course.

It's a nightmare if you're not naturally the gambling sort. It gives me the heebie-jebbies because whatever you do is wrong. Jenni just tells me to over-recruit and Hugh says 'be careful' You're just really left to yourself.

She believes that this lack of clarity is because at Sacred Heart there are a variety of competing beliefs which mean that tutors are just not consulted or fully informed about the details of funding and bidding. Louise thinks it relates to a number of factors; "don't talk to the junior officers" as well as "Money - it's a masculine thing, not to be discussed with some jumped-up little girl". This reinforces the existing 'deferential management' style described by Philip, as well as the paternalism, identified by Louise, which pervades the college. It relates in part to the culture of teaching and education. Louise added,

I think it's because of this academic thing. You don't dirty your hands with money. You know, what Rose says, "I don't want to know about the pennies". In academic institutions only a few people know about money.

The bottom line for Sacred Heart is the actual amount of money which is granted to the college. Sacred Heart is relatively small with approximately 1,250 students and only 95 full-time and 15 part-time tutors (SCOP 91). With burgeoning student numbers and a policy of as little staff recruitment as possible, it becomes difficult for staff to undertake in-service or research work (rare in CHEs). There just isn't the degree of 'slack' in staff hours to allow the tutors to be involved in these activities. The fundamental driving force at Sacred Heart is economic - the irony is that the governors have come to recognise this so late on. Louise says;

Once you see the figures, there's absolutely nothing that can be done because it's totally controlled by external funding unless you are raising lots of money through outside research or something. This is why there is so much concern at the moment. You are totally at the mercy of central government. There is nothing you can do if they change their mind. It is a horrid situation to be in.

It is impossible to predict what the future holds for Sacred Heart because of additional changes in funding for initial teacher education. As teacher education becomes increasingly school-based, funds will pass from the college to the school. As yet this new process is still very fluid. There are no centrally prescribed charges. Because of financial pressures in their own settings, schools want to know what the money situation is. They want to know what they can expect to command if they place student teachers for two-thirds of their time. Louise has done a lot of work with her partnership schools who at the moment are prepared to wait and see for another year. But this is yet another pressure, another factor of uncertainty currently facing teacher educators. Louise believes that one possibility is that teacher education may be "hived off and two or three people run it from the institution doing the admin. stuff - a form of franchising".

Colleges will act as a monitoring body. It's easier for someone like a college to control, examine, moderate. That's important but beyond that we haven't got any other worthwhile purpose for this government.

But Louise recognises the ultimate paradox which is that not all reforms actually take place. "How little effect their reforms have actually had, when you look at opting out for example,

after all the effort they've put in". Louise is a skilful player in a complex time of change and she needs to be if her course and her job are to continue.

The tutors at Sacred Heart are experiencing these changes as destabilising, divisive, demoralising and denigrating. Teacher education is being disciplined not once but twice; both the financial and professional bases of teacher education are under pressure. The new funding arrangements are intended to insert a disciplinary market measure which will rationalise higher educational provision. But at Sacred Heart, because of tradition, ethos and culture, as well as lack of time and perhaps inclination too, many of the tutors are not fully aware of the economic context within which their college is situated. I have argued that because of particular apolitical stances in teaching that tutors in teacher education may be particularly ill-informed and perhaps disinterested as well. They may be what Baldridge (71) has described as 'attentives' or just 'apathetics'. Yet these radical changes have clear effects on their working lives and on the student experience they are able to offer; these changes place the tutors in difficult and sometimes contradictory situations. Their morale is reduced, their work intensified and they are not always able to achieve the quality of work they think is needed. Managers, who do understand the financial constraints, are pressed to elicit more work from their staff while maintaining public confidence in the quality of provision.

Clashing ideologies - markets, cost-cutting and quality

A number of crucial developments have taken place over recent years which have had a powerful effect across all sectors of state education. These have come out of two major but related thrusts. The first has been an attempt to insert a free-market approach into sectors of state spending - consequently driving down costs - and the second has been a concern with management, effective bureaucratic control and rational planning (Ball 90b). This has led to calls for tighter controls, the measurement of cost effectiveness, a desire to 'trim the fat', and attempts to apply Fordist management theory. Unfortunately for the education system, the rush towards this paradigm of managerialism has constantly overlooked some salient matters. Not all business is successful, not all forms of management (and these are extremely diverse) are equally successful. And private business ventures are not subject to the political controls exerted on educational settings, such as the National Curriculum and CATE.

Specific economic philosophies have become influential in underpinning and shaping social policy. The market can be the only arbiter of freedom, choice, success or failure; the market is concerned with competition, diversity and financial exchange. The state has (rhetorically) a very limited function, mainly connected with freeing-up space in which the market can expand. Applied to teacher education, it is possible to trace these values across various policy propositions and outcomes. Institutions vie with one another to provide the most 'competitively' costed courses. Institutions bid against one another for student numbers. With

the diversity of routes into teaching, the client has a choice; a licensed, articulated or a more traditional preparation. All this is subjected to a form of 'quality control' which derives from economic and not educational justifications.

The unexplored, unrevealed assumption in all this is that business methods and market forces are the best ways, the most appropriate ways to plan and deliver education. There is little discussion of whether education can be considered as a product, a good, like cars or chocolate bars or hairdressing.

(Ball 90a:11)

A neo-liberal discourse has been inserted into various claims about higher education that look set to stand for some time. The argument has been developed that institutions have wasted money, have not delivered value for money and now have to become accountable to the central state for their profligacy in the past. Polytechnics are set against universities, higher education colleges attempt to become polytechnics; the battle is on to survive and it has to be at the cost of institutional cuts or even closures elsewhere. The argument is advanced that this is the way to enhance quality and increase output - performativity. The view that cost-cutting or increased staff-student ratios may lead to reductions in quality receives little attention. And yet it is in relation to the issue of 'quality' and the delivery of 'quality provision' that tutors come face to face with the imperatives of the market. They might not fully understand the bidding process but they are the people who have to make the courses work and they have to do this with quality in mind.

In line with the moves towards empowering the citizen, the guarantee of quality and service through the various 'Charters', higher education too is to become enmeshed in performative measures which will assure the delivery of cost effective and high quality courses. Accountability is set against the need to monitor quality. This concern with quality-control and the ubiquitous 'standards' is writ large across discourses of assessment, appraisal and evaluation. These themes have been powerfully articulated across a range of documents which relate to teacher education.

The DES produced 'Teaching Quality' (1982), 'Better schools' (1983), and the CATE criteria (1984). These all argued for the need to improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools through reforms in initial teacher education. Selection is important as teachers need to have 'requisite personal qualities'; they need to be the 'right' sort of people. After this, the teacher needs a range of pedagogical skills and secure subject knowledge. CATE spells out how teacher education courses are to be developed in order to achieve these intentions and all institutions have to comply with these criteria in order to be able to confer qualified teacher status. In many ways the institutions have had the issue of quality debated and resolved without their active participation. They have been notified of a problem and have been supplied with the

remedy. Quality is to be raised through the CATE mechanisms while costs are being cut by the PCFC bidding procedure.

Any attempt to measure and debate a construct as complex as 'quality' is bound to be highly complicated when the subject of all this attention is an aspect of human endeavour. Much will depend on how the notion of 'quality' is conceptualised. In the light of situational constraints, what might appear at first glance to be decidedly lacking in 'quality' could actually turn out to be the best that is possible in the circumstances (Pollard 1982). The paradoxical position represented in current government policy is that within declining resourcing, crumbling buildings and with less staff, somehow 'standards' will actually be raised. And clear criteria will be applied across the board in order to see that this is achieved.

Embedded in a plethora of documentation relating to teacher education is a simple message. The country's schools are failing and this is partly the fault of inadequate teaching (Jones 89). One way forward is to subject teachers to regular appraisal. Another strategy is to reform the courses which are taken by intending teachers. A type of National Curriculum has quietly been slipped into place for teacher education. Through the CATE mechanism, colleges can be assessed and evaluated and HMIs, or their equivalents, will visit each and every institution. In a sense perhaps the role of inspection too has been reworked by the insertion of market forces; the job is ever more clearly one of quality control in the factory of state schooling. At Sacred Heart College as elsewhere, the delivery of 'quality' is intimately related to the strengths and limitations of the situational context. Issues of staffing, the student body, and management strategies all have a strong part to play.

Staffing

First there is a need to state the obvious. The people who are attracted to work in a public service environment generally have some commitment to the 'quality' of that service, which might be recognised as a 'traditional professional' stance. This commitment may diminish or may be subverted by on-the-ground 'interests at hand' but nevertheless there is a widespread concern with issues other than the meeting of quotas, for example. Human dimensions and human agency are deeply implicated in educational work (Ball 87). This will be apparent in terms of the personal beliefs and teaching strengths which all play their part in the constitution of 'professional' practice in teacher education.

For example, some tutors have deeply held convictions about issues of social justice and the role that schools can play in relation to this. Others believe in the need to focus on individual needs in childhood. Fundamental beliefs and positions may not be shared. Some tutors have qualities of consistency and soundness while others have specific flairs in lecturing or tutoring. Some may simply be more experienced than others. Sometimes tutors have been coerced into teaching on

certain courses to which they have understandably less commitment. Some tutors simply do not work well together. Managerial concerns with student-staffing ratios do not normally involve consideration of these sorts of 'micro' and interpersonal issues but out of this multiplicity of factors, comes a set of obvious conflicts and contradictions which are played out in arenas of practice. One example must serve here to illustrate the contradictions between management, quality provision and 'professional' practice.

Tony, a primary school team leader for a year cohort, has to work with these sorts of limitations when he plans his course. He is allocated staff on the basis of student numbers which is frequently not negotiated with the tutors concerned. Staff are allocated by management on the basis of student numbers without consideration of commitment or sometimes even the expertise of the people concerned. It is not a 'quality' decision but a pragmatic and expedient one! However, it 'reveals' the hidden assumption which is that almost anyone can 'do' education, so that staff changes which would not be tolerated in any other subject area are foisted onto teaching studies. This happened to Tony.

There is a team that was set up for first year education that consisted of Helen, Michael, Andy and Liz. Now the first meeting that we had where we were all together. I said I just wanted to discuss the time tabling for the education studies people. Andy said "I am not happy with this at all now." After that I said "Andy, just let me know when you have sorted it out with the Dean, just let me know". From that day to this, I have never heard any more, so I am one person down.

Andy had no experience of primary schools and found that he was to contribute to a primary course when he saw his name on a list. His background and expertise would probably not be fully used on this course; in many ways he was simply 'making up the numbers'. He was 'low' on his teaching hours and was simply pushed across to education. At Sacred Heart, this gave 'messages' to the teaching studies tutors that anyone could do their work, it wasn't important and didn't need any expertise. In fact it served as a 'dumping ground' for redundant staff from other areas. However, Andy's success at resolving his problem has caused difficulties for the remaining team members. There are now only four tutors (Andy was not replaced, merely withdrawn) working with a year cohort of 160 students and one tutor has been 'bought-in' at an hourly paid rate. Because of the need to reduce expenditure there has been a move away from permanent appointments towards 'buying in' hourly paid tutors. As a cost saving strategy this presents problems for teaching tutors. Tony says,

The other problem is that by having someone that only works certain hours each week, that means that the weekly meeting has to revolve around when that person is in college and any other contact has to be on the telephone at home and it is difficult to make that person really feel part of that team and committed to it. And the problems that have happened! There are things like, well I'm only paid for so many hours so I really cannot do any lecturing because to prepare a lecture would take me beyond those hours. Helen doesn't feel confident to address the whole year group. What happens is that you're down

to one or two people who do most of the lecturing and my question is, is the person who co-ordinates it, supposed to do it all? Now I don't think so, I don't think so at all, so it's problematic.

The large first-year cohort are being taught through block lectures followed by 'seminar' work where the discussion groups are extremely large. What generally occurs is a form of mini-lecture; it is all that is possible with the numbers involved. For example, the education seminar groups are made up of twenty-five students. English and the teaching of reading is conducted in seminar groups of over twenty students. Overall, the requirements of cost and financially-led management clearly threaten commitment, fail to ensure adequately prepared staff and produce overload and mismatches through less-effective planning. Quality suffers, morale is lowered and misunderstandings occur. Tony believes that "Michael is lazy. He just wants to make extra money". Tony doesn't understand that Michael believes it is exploitative to expect a tutor to attend meetings, mark work and see students on a one-to-one basis in their own unpaid time. "It 's like when we were in school, we bought books for the kids, but really we were subsidising the system weren't we?" But Tony is 'trapped' in a 'dedicated teacher syndrome' where it becomes impossible to say 'no' and impossible to fulfil expectations working with the assumptions of the 'professionalism' of commitment and quality.

Students

There are obvious problems here too. An institution attempting to deliver quality courses and produce quality teachers will be constrained by the 'intake' it has to work with. If the students recruited have less 'points' from their 'A' levels then it may be difficult for the institution to 'score well'. This is not meant to criticise the many enthusiastic and able people who still choose to become student teachers but there are difficult issues here. (It is also not meant to accept that 'A' levels are a useful predictor of degree level success). But as Dillard, the assistant dean, carefully says,

Any comments I have will relate to all institutions in that we are not able to recruit as scrupulously as we would have liked. If we fail to recruit we may lose our numbers in that area but at the same time we have a professional responsibility to select the candidates who we think are going to be okay and it's sometimes difficult to square the two.

There are professional as well as ethical dilemmas here which set institutional survival against quality. However, Dillard does not teach as much as Liz and does not interview intending students. Her comments are more direct.

I just think we would take almost anybody who comes off the street and I think that's a very poor attitude towards trying to get good teachers but I feel its a knock-on from PCFC and this need to be an industry, churning out teachers now You know, we get so much per head and that's what it's come down to.

Here then the real and practical contradiction between CATE policy and PCFC policy is evident. But there are many issues here which need further teasing out. There are questions related to the differences in applications for undergraduate and post-graduate routes into teaching, as well as primary and secondary teacher education. There are also issues related to the gendered and 'raced' recruitment of potential teachers, but that is another thesis. However, what is clear is that institutionally it is not 'quality' but numbers which sets the agenda in the selection of students for teaching. Even Rose, who struggles with many personal 'devils' to square her interview-recruitment work with the needs of children in schools is aware of conflicts.

Sometimes you have to give the candidates the benefit of the doubt, they may grow to be professionally competent. How can you tell? And shouldn't they be given a chance to grow?

Intensification of work as 'resource' management

In attempts to cut costs, staffing has been shed, part-time tutors are being used to supplement courses and the staff-student ratio is increased. This is particularly noticeable in the work loads for teaching studies tutors, as opposed to subject lecturers (although this has started to change) who have no responsibility for teacher education. There has been an intensification of the work load for the full-time tutors (Apple 83). They have larger numbers in their groups which results in larger amounts of marking. They will have more students to visit in more schools on longer school experiences (teaching practice). All taught courses are assessed in strenuous attempts to measure for 'quality' and one of the unacknowledged effects is that the time and space for tutors, as well as students, to reflect is displaced. Apple has described this process in the following manner; "getting done becomes more important than what was done or how one got there" (Apple 83:59). As Jill comments,

People are kept busy with loads of work. You are, if you go along with it, going to too many meetings and just doing too much. I think it's a bit like the classroom, keep them writing, keep their heads down and they're not going to rock the boat. They can't think too much.

All of this is set against a widespread attack in the media on the quality of teacher education which, it is being suggested, is slipping (Hill 89). For example, attacks were levelled at the teaching of language in the primary school and criticisms have centred on one institution, celebrated for a commitment to child-centred teacher education (Guardian 4.12.90). It was argued that student teachers were 'illiterate'. It was stated that the courses were failing to promote critical enquiry and were promoting an orthodoxy of child-centredness which lacked rigour. Students were being prepared to teach subject areas which they barely understood themselves. In a letter to the Guardian, a language tutor revealed the central paradox which

had not been mentioned; quality cannot be sustained in the market place without the basic provisioning.

If you want well educated teachers who are knowledgeable about language, give me the tools so I can finish the job. If you want teachers with doctors' 'A' level grades, pay teachers doctors' salaries. It's called market forces, pal. And if you won't buy, don't cry.

(Cameron 90).

Again the contradictions between and among cost effectiveness, quality and traditional 'professional' practice are clear. The demands of recruitment (and government policies of expanding HE participation rates) conflict with those of careful selection. The intensification of work for tutors militates against the maintenance of high standards of teaching and careful monitoring and supervision of students' work.

Senior managers

Fairly predictably, many tutors who work at senior management levels are caught up in a complex and contradictory position as a result of all this. Management has to maintain a demonstrable commitment towards quality teacher education within an economically viable yet educationally diverse institution and these pressures are not always compatible. The main thrust at the moment seems to be one of a technocratic efficiency-driven attempt to promote and manage change within a context of dwindling resources; perhaps what is being 'managed' is survival at any price (Ball 87).

For example, Dillard says:

whether a college survives or not actually depends on the principal and I think I can't actually see a principal saying "Well what you're demanding and the quality of what you're demanding is not what I wish to see in my institution". I don't see principals saying that. I think principals are very pragmatic people.... I can't see an institution saying "No we don't accept this" because it's institutional suicide. I don't see it happening.... Whatever direction the government wants us to move in, we're going to have to move in it. We're going to have to make the best of what sometimes plainly is a bad deal.

In effect, issues of quality or values are significantly displaced by survival although some attempt is made to retrieve or hold onto some version of these. He adds,

But that's the nature of institutions of higher learning, that they are flexible, that they are capable of transforming the ordinary into the exceptional. If we were told to produce a two-year degree of some quality, given a couple of months to produce it, we could produce a two-year degree of some quality, no doubt about that, we could do it.... I think that academics are noted for being versatile and they can do the job even under the most trying circumstances.

But there are always limits to flexibility and to the interpretation of quality, and a discourse related to versatility - even within a frame which attempts to hold on to some notion of 'quality' - contains many gaps and omissions. 'Versatility' may easily slip over into 'flexibility' which frequently stands as a code for moves like the deregulation of workers' pay and conditions; getting more for the same or less. It might result in increased demands being made of tutors particularly in relation to in-service education. It also has implications for course design and related issues like time management. If courses are shorter and depend on less tutor input then they are certainly cheaper to run and this frees up the tutor to work on additional programmes. Current debates about semesters and summer teaching and the two-year fast track first degree exemplify these issues. Cicely makes this case;

I think we make an awful lot of fuss about the time we need to do things. The demands will always grow to fill the time that there is: it's the way that you approach it. We've always shown that we can adapt to new ways of doing things, that if someone says that instead of doing it in three hours you do it in two, you do find a way of doing it.

These comments seem to rationalise and sanitise change. They trade upon a version of 'professionalism' (service, quality, commitment) while constructing its destruction through intensification, deskilling, deteriorating work conditions etc. But obviously it is part of the job of senior managers to maintain these sorts of positions. They may feel unable to assert any other views when it is their responsibility to keep the institution going as a viable entity. However, for the grassroots tutors who actually have to deliver the courses, the reality is different. Jill is concerned about the way in which attempts are made to justify aspects of course changes which involve cutting teaching hours while arguing for qualitative improvements.

To shorten is not to give quality. It depends what your definition of quality is. But how do they think by just shortening it [a course] you give it quality? It's like the word rationalise. If you rationalise something you're going to make it a quality thing. Why should that be? It's illogical.

'Quality' has become part of a new managerial 'hyper reality': signifier and signified are rent asunder and the term merely serves to legitimate change by its tactical deployment. Through the rhetoric of management

attempts are made to displace issues of moral and cultural identity with the imperatives of administrative efficacy. In other words, pragmatism and technologies of control replace ideological dispute.

(Ball 87:267)

Perhaps one of the problems is that in the contemporary context, management has lost any sense of purpose other than that of survival and responding to economic imperatives. What is being spoken is a particular set of discourses which privilege the practical, the common sense and which 'make a virtue out of necessity'. This is presented as the only sensible manner in which to

react to contemporary developments and is described as the delivery of 'quality'. This 'quality' is then measured and underwritten through various attempts to assess, appraise and evaluate. In this manner, a form of scientific rationality is applied to a complex aspect of human agency (Hargreaves 88). As the management becomes detached from educational purposes, then the skills and requirements of the manager are articulated and interpolated through the circulating, reified and ungrounded concepts like quality and efficiency. In other words, management becomes an end in itself, not a means to other ends, like education.

Grassroots tutors

However, the grassroots tutors recognise that the senior managers have a difficult and different job from their own and are likely to have different concerns and different interests to hand. Tony says,

I think that once you get up to the top like the dean or the head of a big school, one of the main things is, as long as there is a body in front of the students and there are no complaints, nothing is coming back to them, then all is running well. All is running smoothly and let's leave it at that. I don't think [senior management] would have any idea about how efficient I was or wasn't and as long as nothing was reaching those quarters they would take all as well and not probe any further.

Tony also recognises the very real situational constraints of working in the college. As a teacher he is only too aware of how difficult it is to deliver 'quality' sessions on all occasions. External factors like the time of day, the time in the week, the room, all affect the session (Pollard 82). It is not always easy to assess quality even if one has some understanding of what this entails. Fixed criteria must operate against responsive adaptation to different students' needs. As Tony says,

I think that the course outlines mustn't be a strait jacket. Different groups need different things. Maybe that's something to do with quality. You know, you've got three groups and they tend to be going in different ways. Trying to meet their needs, now maybe that's to do with quality.

Teacher education, like all education, is an interactive process and like all human processes it has an internal dynamic of its own which is not always predictable. Sometimes a team leader will have to accept that one of the team is less experienced and that this may mean, in the short term, less productive or qualitative sessions. Teacher development involves some investment of time and this might mean that short-term costs and disadvantages have to be considered in the light of long-term gains. And where one tutor is less effective than another, for whatever reason, then the team co-ordinator has to take this into consideration in order to sustain secure course development. This has to be balanced with pragmatic needs; the more experienced tutors cannot carry all the workload. The process of course design has to accommodate to 'on the ground' constraints if it is to be realised. Tony recognises these conflicts,

It's relieved that bit from my workload, you try and get three good ones and one bad one, you spread the load.... but more than worrying about that, I worry about the credibility of the course. I worry tremendously about things that are outside my control.

But he is an extremely competent tutor and because of this, as well as staff-shortages, he is on each of the four years' teams as well as heading up a curriculum team. Tony is able to achieve some control over those elements of the teacher education course which he designs and teaches on, but this all has to relate to other strands of the course and elements like the school experience and subject study. As he says,

I think it's very difficult to say how much is actually quality teaching that they get. And I suppose, to be realistic, if they get three sessions out of the week that's real quality, then they're doing fine. So I would say, yes, the quality of what they get varies enormously and what an individual can do at ground level, I just don't know, because you can only work with the material you are given. But even if you only look at yourself, you know that every session you teach in the week is not quality. But if you come out thinking, that was really good, perhaps we should sit down straight away and say, well what was it that made that really good? Was it something as basic as well, it was the right time of the week, that's as simple as that?

Attempts have been made to argue that teaching quality is an amalgam of personality attributes, sound pedagogy and a secure subject match (Hargreaves 88). In trying to ensure that these attributes are present in all teacher education courses and in all teachers, one version of managerialism, a form of domination, has been introduced in order to assert a form of accountability and control. From this, strategies have emerged through which to assess and evaluate teacher education, notably through the CATE criteria. These criteria have been externally imposed and although it seems fair to assert that they have brought a degree of uniformity to teacher education, it is less clear what effect this imposition has had on quality.

There are many problems involved in attempts to improve the quality and efficiency of teaching in our schools. Some of the solutions which have been proposed are related to beliefs about the nature of education and the assumption that 'business methods and market forces' are the most effective ways of improving provision.(Ball 90b). However, these beliefs are only partially constructed. There is a basic contradiction in arguing that quality will indeed be enhanced in a climate where competition, undercutting and under-resourcing are endemic. In the market place this generally results in the survival of the fittest; the biggest, the richest; the emergence of monopolies; and perhaps an overall reduction of diversity, choice and even quality for the consumer. This may well be the inevitable outcome for teacher education, although skilfully managed through a discourse of 'raising standards' and 'enhancing quality'.

At Sacred Heart College the attempt to deliver 'quality' in a context of financial cuts coupled with government policy of 'steering at a distance' has resulted in various contradictory outcomes. An attempt has been made to placate management through the discourses of 'choice'

and 'freedom' in the new funding arrangements. This ends up becoming a struggle for survival at any price. So service, quality and commitment are eroded through intensification, deskilling and a general deterioration of provision. In all of this the tutors have to cope as best they can.

Chapter Ten

The Impossible Job

Underneath the proliferating calls for reform in teacher education from the regular drip of HMI reports throughout the eighties and the substantial pamphleteering of the New Right it is possible to trace a continuity with the past; a concern to meet the requirements of teacher supply and demand as cheaply as possible. It is also possible to see a discursive continuity in the attempts to control and shape the 'good' teacher. The 'good' teacher has been reconstructed as the practical person, the doer not the thinker, the manager not the scholar. This 'new' teacher will be cheaper to produce because what is required is more practical experience and less theoretical interrogation of schooling and pedagogy. The new teacher has been made to feel 'contemporary' rather than a throw-back to the distant time and place of the pupil-teacher. Common sense set in various derisory discourses have articulated this 'new' teacher - a deliverer and tester of the National Curriculum, a deskilled technical labourer in the nations' mind factories. As Hartnett and Naish (90:9) say,

The position and status of classroom teachers has, over the last ten years or so, been subjected to sustained and successful attack from government and politicians. The statutory curriculum follows this attack through to its logical conclusion. Teachers need to be told what to teach, how to teach it and how to find out if they have taught it successfully. They need to be controlled by bureaucrats, they need to be managed, and they need to be appraised. If they are found wanting they need to be sacked.

All this has had inevitable consequences for teacher education; routes into teaching, course design, length and content have all been subjected to bureaucratic 'gaze'. Some of these discursive shifts have been sustained by the fact that many educationalists are not aware of teacher education, are unaware of the longevity of some so-called contemporary debates. Many in education may regard themselves as apolitical and, as such, distance themselves from involvement in any debate about policy shifts in teacher education. But the articulation of a 'new' practical teacher, 'trained' mainly in school has made sense to some head teachers and classroom practitioners who want the additional resources which will follow from school based ITE and whose 'image' of teacher education is that of an irrelevant experience. However, this is certainly not the only story. The women and men who teach teachers have their own professional commitments. These perspectives operate sometimes in an unrecognised manner but provide powerful and regulating regimes. These professional commitments frequently contradict contemporary policy changes yet stand as touchstones for the unique work of teacher educators. Yet the job of teacher educators is misunderstood, marginalised or dismissed by some practitioners as well as politicians. It has become yet another job which almost anyone can do. For

these reasons the job of educating teachers, always complex and difficult, has become the 'impossible' job.

The 'professional' discourses of educating teachers

Berlak and Berlak (81) have argued that there has sometimes been an oversimplified attempt to explain behaviour directly in relation to beliefs and attitudes and values. They argue that social contexts are more complex than this. For instance, they say of classrooms they observed;

sometimes teachers' patterns of resolution seemed to be consciously chosen, deliberate efforts to put social and educational values into practice, though these choices were always qualified by situational constraints, some of which teachers recognised and discussed openly; at other times teachers' patterns seemed almost totally mindless, sheer habit, or formed by cultural and social experiences and forces, or by internal needs of which they were but dimly aware.

(Berlak and Berlak 81:108)

A variety of competing but powerfully relevant set of key attributes or tensions are presented in the teaching and learning context. Dilemmas like theory and practical experience, product and process, co-exist and are engaged with simultaneously. Some of these are recognised by teachers, some are not. And these tensions are not linear problems to be solved or situations which can be easily accommodated to; as Berlak and Berlak (81:133) say,

Dilemmas do not represent static ideas waiting at bay in the mind, but an unceasing interaction of internal and external forces, a world of continuous transformations.

I want to apply this 'dilemma analysis' to the work of teacher education. Within teacher education there are competing, conflicting and sometimes complimentary sets of discourses. Ranges of knowledges related to a traditional subject or research into aspects of pedagogy are set within and among implicit and intuitive knowledge, the 'common sense' of teaching. The culture of schools and college teaching added to quite specific situational knowledge all contribute to the unselfconscious routinised habits of 'doing' teacher education. The culture has its own language, its own knowledge, its own vocabulary. There are particular orientations, towards the school, towards the child, which contribute to the 'professional' discourse of teacher education. There is a tension where teaching is conceptualised as the exercise of critical judgement, related to issues of value and belief, because this will contradict the contemporary thrust where market forces are supposed to drive provision.

From an analysis of interview transcripts various discursive formations have clearly emerged. Within these formations key attributes of what is involved in the job of educating teachers can be identified. These key attributes constitute the discourse of teacher education; constitute a "world of continuous transformations" as well as the routines and constraints which pattern teacher

education. These are the central dilemmas which shape the work, consciously as well as unconsciously, of the teacher educator (See Fig. 15).

theory/practice
principles/information
education/training
intellect/skill craft
change/status quo
teachers developed/teachers born
lifelong/short training period

Figure 15 Key attributes in the job of educating teachers

In the remainder of this chapter I want to give expression to the way in which these key attributes relate to the job of teacher education. I want to move beyond these necessarily simple polarities to grasp the complexity and impossibility of the world of teacher educators. I want to try to capture the interpenetration of these key elements in the way tutors think about and talk about their work, moving and shifting in response to changes outside and developments inside the 'world' of teacher education. In this world the resolution of dilemmas is desirable but elusive; in the absence of resolution the job remains impossible (even if we ignore the 'new' impossibilities imposed from outside). Policy makers and commentators ignore the complexity of beliefs and values that people bring to their work, they overlook their integrity. Tutors look for some form of accommodation, looking for spaces and cracks they can operate within, while satisfying the balance between the need to believe, to have something to believe in, and the need to accommodate, satisfy. When the balance becomes impossible to maintain then people break or leave.

From my extensive interviewing of teacher educators at Sacred Heart there appear to be four central interrelated questions that form the bedrock of daily practice. These can be represented in the following way (see fig. 16):

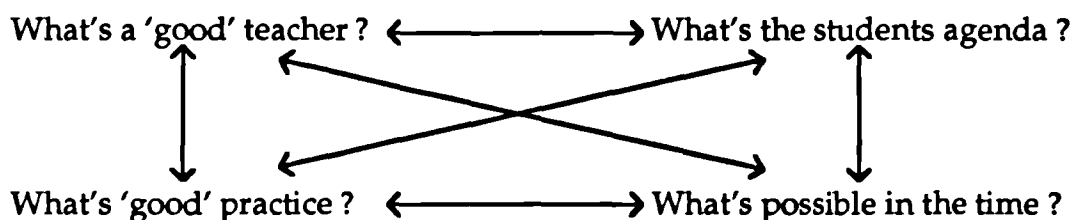


Figure 16 Central questions in teacher education

These questions contain within them concerns and issues that derive from the national political scene, local micro-political exchanges and personal commitments. Furthermore, they embrace both matters of the mind (ideas) and the material circumstances that make up the working life of

teacher educators. However, the precise relationship between these questions or the configuration they take, their relative importance one to the other, depends very much upon how the national, local and the personal 'play out' within the college.

I begin my account of the dilemmas in teacher education by outlining where the emphasis lies in the two dominant bureaucratic versions of teacher education in the eighties and now in the nineties. I then set this alongside and against the professional discourses that have informed teacher education in the same period. Finally I explore the way in which the bureaucratic discourses become entangled in professional discourses, constraining, limiting and playing themselves out in the working lives of teacher educators at Sacred Heart College.

The bureaucratic discourses of educating teachers

Two versions of teacher education have dominated in the 1980s. One involves undertaking a course which is centrally approved and which has a centrally determined curriculum. This indicates that becoming a teacher is a straightforward matter with obvious elements to which all student teachers have to be exposed. No deviation is allowed, no regional differences, no experimentation, or perhaps the end product, the teacher, will be faulty. The weaker version which co-exists with this over-deterministic model is one in which many people are seen as being possible teachers even though they have not undertaken one of these teacher training courses. These are mature, sensible and practical people with a burning desire to teach. They may have come from industry, they may have been at home raising children. But as long as they have experience of some higher education, they can move straight into the classroom where they can become licensed to teach without the unnecessary imposition of time in an institution. As Hill says,

They do not have to be graduates. Indeed they could well be, in some cases, the very people who had failed their teacher training courses, either their BEd or PGCE.

(Hill 90:19)

In this alternative version, the job of school teaching is being loosened up and reconceptualised. It is a job which requires a great deal of common sense and practical experience rather than a critical stance. It is a job where practical experience is certainly as good, if not better than anything else. Most recently these 'practical' and 'common sense' positions have started to collapse into one another. In June 1992 John Patten, the Secretary of State for Education, published circular 9/92 which related to the secondary phase of initial teacher education. The PGCE route was to move to a situation where two thirds of the students' time would be spent in school by 1994. The situation was shortly to be clarified for the primary phase routes. What is significant about these mandatory changes is the clear signal of the soon-to-be-dominant role of the 'practical' in initial teacher education as well as where this will take place.

Discourses in teacher education

'Professional' discourses

In the context of teacher education reform it is easy to forget that the tutors have an interest in all this as well as much expertise. They also have ideological as well as professional commitments; they are concerned with developing the best teachers they can. But inextricably connected with the tensions and dilemmas of educating teachers are assumptions about what constitutes a 'good' teacher and related to this problematic are questions about what is possible or attainable in limited periods of time. If the 'good' teacher is reflective and critical, how can this be distilled and taught in courses of thirty-six weeks? If the 'good' teacher has excellent relationships in the classroom, can this quality be developed in different individuals? What range of competencies does a starting teacher need? What if the student does not perceive the nature of the job of teaching in the same manner as the college tutor? Although what constitutes 'good' teacher education has a relation to what constitutes 'good' classroom practice much depends on how these are conceptualised. But this is not the only factor which has to be considered in teacher education. McIntyre (90:24) puts it like this

The basic problem for the teacher educator is that it is each student-teacher's own agenda which determines the tasks of learning and doing upon which his or her energies will be focused; and this is especially a problem because the teacher educator has a responsibility to ensure that the beginning teacher develops the skills, attitudes and understandings necessary for professional competence. The problem is exacerbated by the complexity of teaching, by it not being an explicit body of knowledge like an academic subject but rather a practical expertise not easily accessible to explicit formulation, by the fact that there is legitimate scope for diversity of approach and difference of opinion, and by the implicit nature of most student-teachers' agendas.

For these sorts of reasons I have described the job of educating teachers as 'the impossible job'. But this is not a view which is shared by politicians or policy makers. Teacher education is, it seems, mainly a matter of 'common sense'.

Most teaching studies tutors experience an essential and almost classical dualism in the way they conceptualise their work. They know that there is a need for practical classroom skills yet they want to ensure that these are understood in a professionally reflective manner. They have a strong allegiance to practical issues; they have all taught in schools and know what is required. This practical/theoretical dualism is closely knitted into the discourses of the teaching studies tutor and provides a central dilemma and leitmotif for educating teachers. How much and where should the course engage in practical activity? Should the students learning be primarily driven by practical experience? When and where should the students spend time considering the purpose of schools, their role in society and the meaning of education, if at all?

The students also experience a related set of pressures and tensions. Their immediate concerns may focus on the short-term demands of their next school-based experience. Influenced by short-term teaching practice needs, they may coerce and push tutors in certain directions. They may demand pragmatic and immediate 'tips for teachers'. These demands may seem more attractive to some of the tutors who believe their own classroom practice to be their particular strength, especially if they are 'unsuccessful academics' (see chapter six). So the theory/practice dualism is not an abstract construct. It has material consequences and is manifested in constant dilemmas. And all of this is tangled up with a strong need for the college tutor to believe in what they are doing. It is important to hang on to a perception that they do make a difference, that their job is worth doing, that they make a difference to the process of becoming a teacher. While these immediate and practical concerns have to be dealt with, there is a strong pressure for this to be managed in a 'professional' manner.

Teaching has been characterised by a consistent fight over time for professional status. What this has entailed, what is meant by various workings of 'professional' and how useful all this really is, is not the central concern of this piece. (All of this is messy, contradictory and by no means a settled issue). Nevertheless for the majority of tutors, the education of teachers is seen as a professional induction into a professional occupation. The task of teaching is seen to involve a degree of expertise, a knowledge base. Importantly for some tutors, the extended professional, the true professional, is always refining their knowledge, keeping up to date, reflecting and changing their practice. Typically, Eva believes that

It's a profession [teaching]. It's not something that you can pull Joe Bloggs off the street and say "Okay, you can teach can't you?" It's something you need to be educated to do. It's something that really you never get right.

Rose puts this even more strongly.

The basis of a profession is that I as a member of that profession invite someone to enter it and I set the ground rules. I don't have someone else set the ground rules for me. I feel that I'm having the ground rules taken from me. I no longer belong to a professional group I am part of. I don't choose to belong to a Government club that decides the rules. I am a creative member of a profession and that is being taken away from me. It goes against all the theory and all the practice of a professional group.

She is very concerned that the contemporary changes in teacher education will result in an erosion of professionalism. "I think it will put teachers into a totally different group when they've worked very hard to become a professional group."

The discourse of 'professionalism' is an important aspect of educating teachers although sometimes this may relate to behaviour and self-presentation as much as performance and reflectivity. More recently, the debate has focused on the distinction developed by Hoyle (74) between the restricted and the extended professional, between the teacher who conceptualises

teaching as a practical, intuitive activity and the teacher who reflects on their practice, reads about recent developments and sees education as part of a wider social context. Hoyle has developed a dichotomised analysis where the characteristics of restricted and extended professionals are placed in opposition. For example, Hoyle believes that, for the restricted teacher, teaching is intuitive while the extended professional regards teaching as a rational activity. This is an important distinction and it relates directly to the rhetoric of 'reflectivity' which is a commonplace, almost the dominant 'professional' discourse of contemporary teacher education. In order to make a rational decision, the teacher needs to spend some time in thinking about which action is to be preferred and why this is the best course to take. There is a recognition of a form of 'knowing in action' that might have some equivalence with intuition but which moves beyond an instinctive position.

Reflection in action has a critical function, questioning the assumptional structure of knowing in action. We think critically about the thinking that got us into this fix or this opportunity; and we may in the process restructure strategies of action, understandings of phenomena, or ways of framing problems.....we think up and try out new actions intended to explore the newly observed phenomena, test our tentative understandings of them or affirm the moves we have invented to change things for the better.

(Schon 87:28).

This conceptualisation of what it is to be an extended professional teacher moves far beyond any simplistic practical skills model into one where the relationship between theory and practice has been articulated in a dynamic and interactive manner. As Fish (89:23) says,

Carrying out professional practice was at one time assumed to be a matter of putting into operation (applying) previously learnt theory to a practical situation. But now that practice has come more closely under investigation it is clear that these long held assumptions are challenged by many of the daily experiences of practising professionals.

Because teaching involves constant interaction with individuals, practice is unpredictable. Teachers handle and manage a myriad of exchanges, some new, some repetitive, some unique and although previous strategies may be effective they can never be guaranteed. Theory and practice although "separate in kind in some ways are interrelated and become one in practice" (Fish 89:24).

Performance of practice involves more than simply knowing theory and producing a series of routine actions. It involves judgements, decision making and improvisation and a pragmatic approach to the particular situation. These in turn are capacities influenced by our dispositions but also related to personality (there is much here that a professional practitioner needs to explore and much that we do not know about).

(Fish 89:25)

The professional practice of teachers is a complex phenomenon which is difficult to describe and account for. It is an amalgam of previous learning, previous doing, expediency, pragmatism and imagination. In many ways, it is almost impossible to explain. McIntyre (90) believes teaching is not "easily accessible to explicit formulation". Berlak and Berlak (81:108) talk about teachers having "internal needs of which they were but dimly aware". These accounts which almost amount to a form of mystification do at least give a sense of the dilemmas and paradoxes which inhabit and shape the world of teacher educators. But in the practice of teacher education the tutors twist and turn attempting to grasp at a form of understanding which is simple, straightforward and which resolves these internal complexities - and sometimes this attempt to simplify just distorts and renders more obscure the nature of the task of teaching and preparing new teachers.

Many of the teaching studies tutors at Sacred Heart will have been exposed to and influenced by these arguments. Tutors who have held influential posts in schools and local educational authorities and who have undertaken higher degrees will be aware not only of the literature and the debates involved in the development of the 'extended professional' but will probably place themselves in this preferred category, certainly as far as their school teaching experience is regarded. It is perfectly clear that restricted professionalism conveys a sense of the second rate, of the less than adequate. For the experienced teacher, the notion of 'extended professionalism' is part of everyday discourse. It is part of their common sense view of what constitutes good teaching, good practice. For this very simple reason, any move towards a skill based or more practical course that may threaten the model of an 'extended professional' will seem to be second-rate and will place the tutors in a situation of professional jeopardy. But in relation to the education of the extended professional, the tutors recognise further difficulties in their job. They have to ensure that their students can organise and manage children and school students' learning. The students do have to exhibit a capacity to manage practical arrangements. At the same time the tutors also have to ensure that their students are critical and reflective. So relating theory to practice, deciding content and sequencing of experiences in course design and evaluating the place of practical experience are critical dilemmas for the tutors.

Theory and practice

The longer serving teaching studies tutors at Sacred Heart share a commitment and a belief in the value of college-based courses. Although this relates to their own interests to hand and the need for employment, it also makes sense in relation to their own experience as school teachers as well as college tutors. However, many of them recognise and experience a range of dilemmas which are but poorly articulated in the theory-practice tension.

Philip started teaching in secondary schools without any teacher education. He found his first year extremely difficult and strongly believes that teacher education can help.

I fell for the received wisdom in those days among the graduate population that there was not much point in doing a course that wasn't necessary. You know, if you could go and get a job without doing a year's course well what was the point of the course? But I was quite unprepared for my first reality of the classroom. How do you make a class be quiet and listen to you? I hadn't a clue. Awful, awful. I know from my experience that teachers who have had some sort of course are likely to have a better idea of how to do it than I did when I started. Now to that extent then I believe in teacher education.

While Philip does believe that college-based teacher education has a part to play, it seems as if 'doing it' is the central issue. Clive, another long serving tutor, did a Certificate of Education in the mid sixties at Sacred Heart, before he started work as a secondary school teacher. But he had some problems because his course was of the 'traditional disciplines' type which did not seem to relate to his practical needs. With Philip, he shares a belief in a role for teacher education, but for him too there is a central factor of the 'practical aspects of the job'.

I do think, looking back now, that probably most of what I learned I picked up on the job if that's the right expression, rather than being taught it in college and I think we're moving to a situation where the students that we have now, will learn more quickly and they'll pick up the practical aspects of the job much more quickly and be better provided for. They won't go through the trauma that I went through in my first year of not really knowing a lot of the nitty-gritty which I felt I should have been provided with.

Clive's college experience was shared by Graham who completed his PGCE at a much later period in the mid-seventies. Graham worked at Sacred Heart College as a Teacher Fellow on secondment from the local educational authority and saw that some aspects of teacher education had changed in a positive manner although he too highlighted the central role of the practical.

Well when I was a student we had theory lectures till they came out of our ears, in fact most people ended up not attending I think because there was little attempt to relate theory to what actually went on in the classroom. So one of the things that I liked about [the new course] is that although they have theory sessions, there will be at the same time, a practical input from a teacher or from a tutor or a college lecturer saying, yes, well although this is what is supposed to happen in theory, this is what happened in my experience.

While Clive, Graham and Philip are aware that teacher education is inextricably related to the development of professional competence in the classroom there is an awareness of the dilemmas set within this. Teaching is seen as a practical concern although there is a need for a higher education input. There is a concern that if teacher education were only to take place in schools that this would be problematic. Philip reaches into the discourse of 'professionalism' in order to make his point.

Well I think it's a retrograde step quite frankly and I think that one of the things it actually attacks is the concept of teaching as a profession rather than as some kind of trade that you can learn through an apprenticeship, because actually it's an apprentice scheme. And I think that, that actually demeans the importance of education.

Graham saw this issue in a different manner. He conceptualised teacher education as a form of theory-practice meld. The institution where all this took place was perhaps the least of his concerns.

I have at times thought that in fact the school should be the focus of the training but I don't want to do anyone out of a job. But the experts in the theory field, people with an overview, because that's what college lecturers have because they see so many different schools, can then run courses that are the necessary things that you need to bolt on to the school bit. But they don't need to be done here, they can be run at the teachers' centres and things like that. I don't think there needs to be one particular model necessarily.

Ben also highlights the central dilemma in educating teachers; the practical and vocational element set alongside and sometimes in antagonistic relation to a theoretical perspective.

I spring between two positions. Some of the time I think this isn't the real world, this isn't teaching I really want to be back where it's at. The real world is really at the chalk face. I'd even go so far as to say, well, that's where we can train teachers as well. I mean some of the time I do feel like that quite strongly and I listen to some of the artificial things we talk about in college and I think this doesn't bear any relationship to what pragmatically goes on in classrooms

Guy works in a subject department and now has only marginal contact with teacher education. He has seen various changes in the courses and he articulates a very strong pro-college perspective. He recognises that some former criticisms of teacher education were appropriate but makes the point that these courses were changed some time ago and that contemporary courses attempt to do much more.

Seven or eight years ago when I came to this college BEd courses were not suitable, they were not suitable, they were not designed for professional training. The way that knowledge was treated was not in the way that education was going. The kind of programme that has been set up in the last few years is totally different from anything that existed in this place at all since I came here and in my knowledge of teacher training course developments. Yes there was a disjuncture between the professional practice of teachers and the training of teachers and in some cases it depended also on lecturers. Some people were doing the right things and others weren't. So in a sense, government criticism of teacher education was right and if people are still doing what was going on seven years ago then.... However, what I can see going on has changed dramatically. Now I don't think that this can be merely seen as a pushing through of 'all you do is train kids for school, you're just giving them skills'. I don't think it's about that. It's also about a reappraisal of our concept of knowledge and our getting rid of this caesura between telling them what to do in the classroom and getting over that gap. I mean, when I go out on teaching practice I can see when the student has picked up on what I think they should have done by this stage, what they should be understanding.

What is interesting about this is that he realises that a simple version of 'received wisdom' about pedagogy is not tenable, and that a reappraisal of what counts as useful knowledge to a classroom teacher had to be and was undertaken. But he holds to a version of pedagogical knowledge which does reveal traces, residues relating back to 'received knowledge'. What does

seem to be missing from this account is any sense of real dialogue with the school in any form of partnership. The tutor becomes the arbiter of good practice, the judge of appropriate interactions with children (who are less well known by the tutor).

Julie is very aware of the dilemmas involved in educating teachers. She did not find her own teacher education very useful in helping her think about education in a broad manner, nor did it help her much in practical terms.

I realised that I had two views. One was as a teacher myself and what I would have liked and my views that are emerging now as a teacher educator. I'm very new to the business and so some of my responses might be a little tangled. If it was totally in my hands, my own experience of teacher education was very poor because I did a PGCE and so I didn't really learn until I started in the classroom and so if I had any influence over teacher education I would like to see a much longer professional course.

This is a simple resolution of a long-standing dilemma which would overcome many difficulties. Courses could be expanded until they met all the various expectations and demands. Julie's comments illustrate the manner in which tutors struggle to reach some accommodation over the dilemmas of actually providing, organising and teaching on initial teacher education courses. Julie continues,

Really the college experience or wherever you're going to do this, should be about providing you with time and space to think and talk about what you're doing. But I strongly believe that it's not just content and knowledge transmission. It's about a professional approach, a way of working, professional skills. So that gets tangled into it. I'd look for a longer time of practical work with time for reflection and reading round and being knowledgeable about a subject of education.

Liz went to a teacher education college herself in the late sixties and recounts her experiences.

We couldn't see the relationship between this theory and what we were actually doing. I remember having the theory of maths and I remember being given unifix cubes and it didn't mean anything to me because I wasn't making the relationship between the unifix and the classroom, sitting down with a group of eight children and learning to use this stuff. I mean, that's a very light sort of example but that's the sort of thing I mean. So that's what I'm actually saying. I rejected a lot of the things at college because I had no reason to actually believe this was of any use because I'd never seen anything in a classroom that actually had any relationship to what they were actually talking about in theory. Piaget's a doddle compared to some of those people. I mean, you can actually see where he got his information.

Liz articulates many of the strands which are implicated in the theory-practice discourse. She recognises that useful aspects may well be rejected if they are not understood in context or if they are not immediately recognisable as being 'relevant' because they are not evident in the classroom under observation. (If school-based training does become the norm, there will clearly be problems around inserting innovative pedagogy for this very reason). Liz is aware of the

disjuncture which existed in her own teacher education. Many tutors interviewed expressed concerns about their own teacher education. They voiced the age-old dilemmas which make up the discourse of a professional and practical act like teaching; the theory/practice nexus. Although they voiced this as a polarity they wanted to retain these elements in their work - either strand without the other just would not be 'good practice'. Their belief, like that of Rudduck (89a:65), was that it would be a "narrow and disabling view that says you can learn all you need to know about teaching from merely doing it". But some tutors found this dilemma too difficult to live with in any unresolved manner.

I'm not sure about the debate which seems to be involved with theory/practice in teacher education. I think it's such an integrative thing that there's a kind of danger in trying to pull out the 'here's the theory, here's the practice'.

(Rose)

Eva had another 'neater' and theory-rich way to reach a resolution, through the discourse of 'match and mis-match'; observation, reflection and modification.

Someone very wise said all good practice presupposes theory and it's something I hold dear to my heart. The theory goes into the practice, the theory and practice have a mismatch [in schools] so it comes back to being here with us talking about that mismatch [in college] between theory and practice and the modification of that theory.

The tutors are aware of the dilemmas in theory/practice, with teaching as a craft as well as an intellectual activity. They know this from their own lives in the classroom, they voice this from their own experience of initial teacher education. They articulate and 'image' (Elbaz 83) some of the scripts and routines which shape their practical knowledge - the need for the 'nitty-gritty' and the ability to 'do it' in the classroom; at the same time they wish to hold on to strands of academic knowledge as well as metacognitive processes in order to inform practice in a critically intellectual manner (Caulderhead 88). Graham says,

I have negative vibes about theory and I thought, well it is theory, it never happens in reality but having been in teaching for several years I now see the relevance of theory although perhaps it never matches what you do in your classroom exactly. It's there as some sort of a catalyst to make you think about what's going on.

This quite neatly leads on to another set of dilemmas which are part of the job of teacher education. If the job is shaped through this theory/practice dilemma then the courses outwardly represent this tension in the dualism of education/training. What should be in the courses and where should any emphasis or focus lie? Should the courses be concerned with imparting information or developing sound principles for making decisions and value judgements?

Course content

When courses are written in preparation for validation and accreditation these questions are teased out. Of course, written courses may not directly resemble taught courses but nevertheless the planning activities, the meetings, the disputations as well as the accords and resolutions illustrate the material outcomes of the range and interpenetration of the key attributes and dilemmas of teacher education. Particularly in course design where the tutors have to specify content it is possible to trace 'consciously chosen' patterns of resolutions to particular dilemmas. However, some tutors involved with course development writing seem to be propelled by "internal forces of which they (are) but dimly aware" (Berlak and Berlak 81:108). The culture and tradition of teacher education, the routines and patterns of experience rather than conscious decision-making will also play a part in course planning.

These tensions were echoed in what Hugh, one of the senior managers, said about the need for a basic as well as subject-centred knowledge of curriculum and method (while conjuring up images of his own apparently inadequate teacher education). On a secondary course where the intending teacher will already have a first degree in a related or even the same subject which is to be taught in school, it is sometimes thought that the only additional knowledge needed is related to the demands of the National Curriculum. To a degree, Hugh shares this view.

I can remember those times as a post graduate. They said "Well you do the two first terms of education theory here and then you carry that over into a school". And I sat there listening to the professor in education's lectures and frankly, with no professional training, they were a load of nonsense. I couldn't help but feel embarrassed by them. So I am glad they are moving away from the old disciplines towards what is going on in the classrooms but I still would put the emphasis that a student who is in the school, who is going in front of a classroom tongue tied for lack of subject knowledge is not doing what I would want them to be doing.

Hugh recognises other knowledge claims in relation to teacher education. It is not only concern for the subject to be taught and the central concepts involved that the teacher needs to have on the tip of their tongue. The new teacher needs other professional knowledge as well. This dilemma is well caught in what Hugh says at a later point.

But whilst I've overstated my views on what I believe, in order to make a point, because I think that too many people think that what is going on in the classroom is learning their subject, including us at Sacred Heart. Isn't it something much more dynamic? And some of the things which are required most is the human development stuff because this enabled me to understand how children learned. And unusually for some, I found the historical setting to be more useful, in that one then acquired an understanding of why we were in the situation we were in. Now you see, that contradicts what we were saying earlier. But I think these things should be let in.

Perhaps Hugh has not fully recognised and appreciated the part his teacher education has played in his own thinking and perhaps this account above is an example of an awareness of 'alternative

needs' as well as demonstrating the manner in which educational dilemmas give shape and form to practice (Berlak and Berlak 81).

Francis is even more forthright about what he believes should be included in teacher education courses. Like the other tutors he expresses concerns about the older courses. But he is aware of the dangers of simply substituting arid theory with practical issues.

I think one of the problems in teacher education now is that we've moved away from the bad old days in the seventies when we did lots of theory and virtually no practice to the situation now where everything has to be practical now and have relevancy and immediacy to the classroom. I'm not convinced that that is the only criterion for teacher education, you know marking out the relevancy of the course in terms of classroom management and classroom organisation is actually what it's all about. I think it's about looking at the underlying philosophical issues. I've never believed strongly in the disciplines of education except in philosophy because I've always thought that if teachers can't think about what they're at then they've got no chance of really succeeding at going in and developing education. I think that if you can't justify what you're doing then you shouldn't be doing it. And that applies to jurisprudence, that applies to government that applies to whatever and I think it applies to teachers in particular. So I would actually have a basic course in thinking because I think that's one of the biggest problems among our students now, they simply don't think about the issues.

This long account by Francis is an excellent example of a strong attempt to reach a resolution of the dilemma of how courses should be structured. When Francis was pressed about what sorts of issues and concerns should figure in teacher education courses he argued passionately that issues concerned with "what it is to be human" needed to be central. He recognised a need for technical or 'mechanical' awareness about contemporary concerns but believed that these were only first-base issues and not fundamental to becoming a teacher, to educating school children.

Well I think I would want them to look at what it is to be human, what it is to grow, what it is to be a person. I would start with basic issues about what it is to be a person, basic fundamental questions about humanity.

I think there is a danger at the moment locking into the mechanical bit; to attainment targets, to assessment, to teacher appraisal, all of which I have no quarrel with, no qualms, I mean I think they are all desirable, but they are built on the first base.

Francis teaches his subject to students who will work in primary as well as secondary schools. He teaches on the post graduate courses as well as on the BEd routes. Like Hugh he has a concern about the subject knowledge base of the courses but he believes that students need additional ranges of knowledge about the subject in order to be effective in the classroom. Unlike Hugh he does not seem to recognise the contradictions in what he says.

There were some third years last year and they wanted more practical stuff. I felt that they just didn't know enough about a) why bother teaching [the subject] and b) what [the subject] is all about, to actually go onto the third stage which is how to teach it. Because they didn't actually know enough about the first two of those

issues to put into a framework. We're all about giving people frameworks which are actually vacuous. It seems to me, especially for pedagogy that the frameworks we're giving people are, they actually have to have some content. Now that might be more important at secondary level than at junior level but I think that there is a lot of content-free education floating around at the moment. So when you see them out on teaching practice, there's a lot of content-free stuff going on. You know, they want to do nice things which I'm all in favour of but I want them to be stretching. I want them to take the children on. You know, you get a lot of nice hand outs, beautiful handouts and then you get really lousy tasks.... extension exercises.

Jeremy says that although there are many dilemmas which surround becoming a teacher, from the contrast with school and college life and from classroom to classroom, fundamentally there is a purpose to the job, the development of a framework of principles through which actions can be interrogated, clearly the discourse of the 'reflective practitioner' and course design needs to have this intention in mind.

It would be easier to defend the present situation if it could be demonstrated unequivocally that it was indeed a successful process and that raises lots of questions. But plainly it isn't. And the profession will tell students, forget all that stuff that you learn in your college. This is where the real learning starts. I think many students believe that. It's certainly what comes back to me from students I talk to late on into their probationary year. I look on them, grizzled veterans of the junior classroom and they say, "Ah, but you didn't tell us, did you?", implying that their training course hadn't been that successful. But I actually don't think it can be. We know that each classroom is a unique social classroom within itself, in which students, in the end are going to have to work out their own salvation. What I would hope is that we are able to help them form a framework of principles on which they can base their classroom decisions.

But the dilemma of designing a course which meets the CATE criteria in terms of content and hours taught might partly restrict these sorts of professional intentions. There may also be other sets of limitations imposed by the validating body and external examiners in relation to actual course content.

Practical experience

Jeremy has also mentioned another important and recurring dilemma for those doing the job of educating teachers. Student teachers visit various schools, undertake teaching practices and other forms of school attachments in order to focus on pedagogy. And this sometimes seems to be the most important part of their learning process. Indeed because of this vital part of teacher education, it has become commonplace to argue for stronger partnerships with schools and for more school-based courses. In Jeremy's comments above, the danger is highlighted where the school is encouraging the student to reject their college-based work. As Cicely says

There has always been this tension between schools where the real action is and where we do it properly and colleges where the refugees from the classroom go to indulge in airy-fairy theory.

Francis has also commented on this move to school-based work.

It frightens the life out of me.... it frightens me you know. I went into a school last week and the staff! Their attitudes to the children, their attitudes to the students just horrible ! The head of the department, it just.... It doesn't bear thinking about, he just spends his time showing kids videos, because he can't control them. I went in to supervise my student in the next room and I was going to go in and tell his kids to shut up because they were disturbing her class. At the end of it he was telling her, why don't you leave college, stay here and teach, don't be wasting your time with all that flannel. If she was in a school with him she would learn absolutely nothing unless she was very bright and very determined and very self-assured because he doesn't know anything to teach or show her, only bad habits and bad practice.

Cicely worded her concerns less dramatically but she was concerned that one very strong experience can be generalised into a total picture of what schools are all about. The model thus generated is used to hold against all other experience which can limit subsequent professional growth and understanding.

One of the dangers is that experience can be so vivid and formative that it can be taken as the only one for the rest of one's life and it could be very difficult to grow out of that. It's not wise for experience to take place only in schools.

Eva was concerned about what could be a possible consequence of privileging the school experience above and over the college course.

If you feel that someone can go out with no education, can go out into a class and do it with some support, I don't think you've really contemplated what teaching is all about. It reminds me of a young trainee doctor and someone saying "Well look, you'll only learn by doing it, here's a scalpel." I wonder how I would feel as a parent if my children had someone like that supposedly teaching my children?

Nevertheless all this does highlight a central and persistent discourse in teacher education. It is all about privileging 'common sense', the practical, the experiential. Many of the tutors are sceptical about their own experiences of teacher education and can recognise what they perceive to be limitations in the courses they undertook although they believe that things have changed and have improved. This myth of the irrelevance of teacher education, which has not been sufficiently interrogated, has in fact persisted to underpin the 'discourses of derision' which surround and invade teaching and the myth has been maintained and sustained by schools and teachers as well as by some college tutors.

Reconciling the tensions

I now want to consider how tutors attempt to reconcile theory/practice, or rather knowledge and knowledge in context, in contrasting ways. I have chosen to examine primary maths and English in more detail because both courses are directed at the same students, and because the tutors involved have similar allegiances towards child-centredness and the culture of the primary

school. However, although there are similarities, differences do exist. For instance Liz wrote the primary maths submission and prepared the following statement of intent.

By the end of the course the students should:

- * have gained an appreciation of the nature and development of children's mathematical thinking.
- * have gained a knowledge and understanding of and be able to implement all aspects of the National Curriculum.
- * be aware of the implications of research.
- * have developed personal confidence in mathematics in order to be able to maintain an open-minded and innovatory approach to the teaching of mathematics in the primary school.

(College Validation Document p 64).

Liz has included 'open-mindedness' and 'innovatory approach' as categories worth including. This suggests that the professional teacher needs to be creative, an innovator, not just a translator of theory. It involves 'decision making' and 'improvisation' (Fish 89:25). Eva, on the other hand expresses a clear perspective where theory seems to be used as the starting block for all investigation and for all work.

I think that theory, knowledge of theory is very important for several reasons. Because it influences practice, because it helps students to question. It helps them to analyse. It provides strategies. And when they implement that theory there is bound to be a mismatch between theory and practice and that's when modification of the theory comes into being. Because no two children are alike, no two situations are alike, no two teachers will implement the theory in the same way. So, it means that they will have to have an ability to change, to shift according to the situation and that's something I think comes back to us. It's almost like a triangle isn't it? The theory goes into the practice. The theory and the practice have a mismatch so it comes back to being here with us talking about that mismatch between theory and practice and the modification of that theory.

But this begs other sorts of questions too. What sorts of theories are selected in the first instance? Can theories always be easily reconciled to practice in this refining manner? Is classroom practice always as clear and easy to pin down? Eva has written these courses and with Tony and Jill is responsible for the teaching. All three are all recent recruits from primary schools and all have completed Masters degrees. They are aware of contemporary theories and the research literature, they have also substantial classroom and primary school managerial experience.

Clearly the English courses are intended to facilitate a great deal of knowledge, sensitivity and critical thought. Statements in the validation documentation make this point clearly.

By the end of this course the students should:

- * be able to analyse critically conflicting models of the teaching of reading and writing.
- * be informed about and critically aware of recent and current research in the area of language in education.
- * be aware of the principles of organising and managing the language curriculum in the junior classroom.
- * be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the place of linguistic variety in a pluralist community.

(College Validation Document pp57-58).

Perhaps it is unfair to reflect too much on course submissions; these are after all only one version of what becomes, when translated into practice, often a very different entity. However, there seems to be a greater stress on required content and received knowledge and less stress on the need for the open-mindedness and innovation which is explicit in the mathematics submission. From observations of Eva's teaching there are clear messages being rehearsed and encouraged in this area of the curriculum. There are very clear versions of what theories are to count and what theories are to be rejected. There are also very clear messages about the place of theory and its leading role in the preparation of teachers. This is demonstrated through the following account of a seminar with twenty PGCE primary students.

In a session on marking children's work Eva introduces this by saying "Right, now, as promised, marking. I'd rather talk about responding to children's work". There are clear messages about what is to happen and what the received view is going to be. 'Marking' is incorrect, and that 'responding' is the appropriate label for this particular activity. The students are given a piece of text written by a child and are asked to "respond to it, if possible, grade it in some way". After fifteen minutes while the students consider the text there is a group discussion. When Eva asks if anyone graded it, it is not a surprise to find that no-one did. One student comments, "there were progressive mistakes" and then it is revealed that the child is dyslexic: "marking has to be very very sensitive otherwise you'll put him off". So the sub-text has been read correctly. The students were wise not to grade the work or they would have been revealed as insensitive or less child-centred than another member of the group.

The group then discuss whether or not they can think of better words for marking. Words like responding and considering and discussing are examined. When one student starts to question this in relation to what teachers lives are like in a classroom, large numbers of children, only one teacher, "isn't the role of the teacher different?" Eva responds, "But not if you're taking on the Donald Graves model of fellow writer".

(Donald Graves advocates a particular understanding of working with children to help facilitate their writing which is derived from substantial empirical research). So there is another signalling of the dominant role of educational research. This illustrates another related issue in the theory-practice conundrum. Some theory is propositional. But other theories are grounded in extremely careful and intellectually rigorous empirical work with children and school students. Both sorts of insights are commonly labelled as theory and the distinction is not clearly drawn.

However, Eva appears to sense that there is some discomfort in the group who have recently completed their final teaching practice in large busy primary classrooms and who have experienced organisational, management and control difficulties in addition to coping with managing learning and other aspects of teaching. They did not spend a great deal of their time engaged in fairly lengthy dialogue or conferencing on children's written work. The students fairly logically ask what to do if they inherit a conventional marking approach. Eva says that "if the children are used to 'heavy marking' then you have a problem, but I think we know a bit more about the writing process now". There is an appeal here to a 'knowledge' base from which to proceed which is at once more enlightened and child-centred. At this point a form of theory is privileged above any material constraints and it seems that only two responses are offered. The student accepts the theory and if they have problems in the classroom it will be because of poor understanding, preparation or organisation. Or they can recognise the contradiction and complexity of the classroom and construct an alternative version where it is the theory which is problematic, and in this way, accept a version of teacher education as being too concerned with undoable deeds, and so maintain their self esteem in the classroom setting.

The final part of the two-hour session moves into a consideration of the points which have been made. However, the conclusion really sums up the whole session. A poem, written by an adolescent boy, is read out. The poem is about his feelings of being pressed into conformity at school, by having his bright imaginative paintings conformed to a norm by the teachers comments. Eva then waits and there is an air of expectation, after all the poem is sad and strange and rather haunting. And after the pause Eva tells us that this was written just before the boy killed himself. "I guess, responding is so crucial".

It is clear from this limited account of one session that Eva did engage with the knowledge, intellectual capacities, attitudes and executive skills needed by the teacher (Alexander 84). Theory drawn from contemporary research with children was integrated into the session and was well illustrated through use of children's writing. The students were encouraged to discuss and debate the issues although there did seem to be clear indications as to what constituted the 'right' answer

and what was admissible and what was not. (Eva is one of the most talented tutors at Sacred Heart; she is extremely popular with students and is highly respected by her colleagues. This account is not intended to suggest otherwise. I have selected particular observations to illustrate the tensions which develop in relation to theory/practice).

Alexander (84a) has argued that there is a historical gap which has been created between what classroom teachers do and what college tutors say they should be doing. Quite clearly in this session the students have been given the message that 'we' know about the writing process and implicitly, the 'they' out in the classroom might not. But these students, as a result of their recent school-experiences may now identify with the 'they' in the classroom and may remember college sessions like this as less than helpful [particularly if they make demands which the students believe are hard to meet] so maintaining the myth that teacher education is not about real classrooms. In this way they may well miss another point, that perhaps the college experience is about setting expectations or a framework for questioning practice. But it is even more complex than this. Drawing from the example given above, how can student teachers learn to 'mark' children's work more effectively? If they only repeat what they have seen others do and make no attempt to consider and trial alternative strategies (which some teachers might not have incorporated in their practice and might not even know about) how will teaching improve?

When I discussed this session with Eva and commented on the sorts of issues which have been outlined above, she said that this was a session she does with all her groups, both the PGCE and the BA students. She had been exposed to a very similar experience, using the same examples of poems and children's writings by a college tutor on her Diploma course while teaching in a school. As it had made a powerful impact, she had taken it and restructured it for her own teaching purposes. She believed it was defensible to run sessions like this because, ultimately, it was important to get the message across about the potency of marking. Eva had not considered the possibility that this could give rise to feelings of inadequacy in the students or perceptions that the practices discussed would not perhaps be possible for inexperienced first-year teachers.

In an interview at an earlier point she had said,

I don't think you can get all sorts of odd bods proclaiming all sorts of different approaches and cobble them together and expect the students to come out with a course which has a logical direction and a progression.

You can't hope to develop young informed teachers if you've got people telling them all different sorts of things.... that's not to say there's not room for variety because there is. But I believe the course shouldn't be providing the answers for them but should get them asking the right questions at the end.

Eva experiences a real tension herself which seems to be a common predicament particularly with the tutors who have had extensive school teaching experience. There is a real problem because in her reading, in her work undertaken for a higher degree she has focused on research which

suggests that certain procedures in the classroom are more productive than others. It may well be that experienced and thoughtful teachers are able to move their teaching on in this way. But examining their own practice and utilising their own skills to test out bits of research which seem productive and working in this 'rational' manner, just might not be possible for less experienced teachers and might not even be the way that experienced teachers proceed. As Berlak and Berlak (81) have demonstrated, the art of teaching in school is far more complex than match and mismatch.

Eva says that she wants the students to ask the right sort of questions although, at times, her practice suggests that she would rather not leave this to chance (a very real dilemma for all who teach.) Theory needs to be explicit, it is endorsed, and it has to be put into practice. Tony has an appreciation of the problems involved in this. I asked him if he thought that the first year language programme was structured in a theory driven manner.

I think that's a fair assessment of what goes on at the moment and the pitfalls of that are becoming more and more evident so that what I think they need to do is have a look perhaps at some way into the kind of theory. And then go out and have a look at it and come back and say now we've looked at it and what you've seen are the disadvantages and advantages. And now let's add on this, this and this and then let's look at it and take it on a bit further as they begin to grow into it. Because what I'm finding, with the first years in particular, that they're saying, well it sounds all right but it isn't going to work in practice. And it's because they can only base things on what they've experienced. And for most of them it's on their own recollections of primary experience. And for some of them to think back that far anyway, is a difficulty. It's like the parent who says "Well, when I was that age I was reading Dickens and Ballantyne and Stevenson " whereas in fact they weren't reading them until they were fourteen or fifteen. Because they are distanced from it, the whole thing is merged. And I think for students because that's all they have to build it on, then that's what happens. So that they actually need to get an input and then actually go and have a look at it. And this is why I think it's important that the people who are liaising with the schools actually can identify where good practice is going on, where there are models to which the students should be exposed.

Tony recognises that there is an immediate need for the school and the college to work intimately with the intending teacher in order to develop sound and effective practice. He recognises the problems involved in presenting theory as dogma. However, his recommendations rest on finding 'good practice' in schools.

In many ways what Tony says about the relationship between theory and practice is similar to the position held by Eva but with one major difference. He recognises that there is a dynamic interactive relationship, right from the start; that these strands 'oscillate'. He also recognises that there is a need to critique the theory. "Does it still stand?" he asks? Tony acknowledges that all students have beliefs and carry with them intuitive theories or habitual knowledge about teaching. He expresses the view that one of the jobs of teacher education is to attempt to examine critically this taken-for-granted body of thought on the basis of carefully selected school based

experience. At this point it seems useful to include an extended part of the interview as this substantially illustrates these points.

I really think it's about breaking down the difference between theory is here, practice is over there and making the bridge the whole time, that theory and practice oscillate, that we don't tag practice on at the end, that we actually say we take the idea, look at it in practice, in the light of the practice we then go back and we say, does the theory still stand and we refine it or whatever. So the whole time there's an interweaving between theory and practice and I think this needs to come through taught courses, through their writing as well. Very often when students are writing, I find that it's theory first, put a bit of practice on at the end and if you can, perhaps relate them in the conclusion. Whereas what they ought to be doing is perhaps taking a bit of theory and saying, now in the light of my experience in schools, limited though it might be, it doesn't seem that this actually fits with what I'm actually seeing. And perhaps we ought to modify it a bit. And then to move on to look at perhaps something else so that the whole thing becomes an interwoven mesh.

I think it's still very much theory, practice and if you can, relate the two together. You see, I think everybody's got a theory even if they can't articulate it and I think everybody's working on a theory and I think that what we have to do is help the students be articulate about the kind of theory that's underpinning their practice. And so the whole thing is talked through, so that you see you can't have one without the other and that it doesn't stop when you go into the classroom. Theory is still very important. But I think that what we don't want to do is fall into, and I think it does at the moment, is that the theory happens here and then the practice. So that you're getting students like one I met this week, said I'd much rather be out in school all the time because that's where the real learning is done. Now, if students are saying that, then I don't think it's getting through. I think we've got to be much more keen, much more careful to ensure that we actually promote the relationship between theory and practice. And for that to happen people need to be out in schools revising lists and so on, because things change and I think it is essential to keep this up to date and they know where to send people.... they have got to have a bank there and say, well, that is the school there that would help the student grow in this direction.

It was apparent in my observations of other teaching sessions that other tutors deal with this theory/practice problem in other ways sometimes ignoring difficulties of implementation, other times explicitly teasing out practical concerns. One interesting finding was that no one discussed in interview or with students what they meant by theory or practice. These were taken as given and all discussion moved on from this. Different tutors made different attempts to reconcile the tensions but no one moved beyond the constraints of this framework.

So far I have concentrated on issues which are most appropriately described as pedagogic tensions. These tensions are part of the daily teaching experiences of the tutors at Sacred Heart. Yet other tensions exist in states of antagonism which need to be accommodated to, rather than necessarily reconciled. These tensions are related to the wider philosophical debate about teacher education as part of higher education. Dillard has always seen teacher education as part of higher education. As such, he believes that it has a particular role to play in the maintenance of a democratic society.

I think that any kind of study, and let's face it, a lot of our PGCE courses are involved with study, and any study involves a certain detachment. You know, academic institutions are constantly involved in a search for truth. Now I don't want to get into my ivory tower here but I do think that is one of the central functions of an institution of higher education that it can step back, look at society, comment on society and say "Well we think you're going wrong here".

Dillard suggests that when educational systems become

submerged into the general state where they have become politicised, they have become part of it, part of the machinery, those countries, you find that the quality of academic life has disappeared and with it society has lost the monitoring process that higher education institutions can afford to it.

Higher education institutions can provide a "sanctuary" where students can reflect and "where they can be free and open in their thoughts". In his previous college, he taught students who spent most of their time in schools. This sometimes meant that the students were less able to express differences of opinions or try out alternative educational strategies in their teaching. The students who found schools to be unfriendly and uninviting and found teaching repressive or unimaginative, were unable to discuss their concerns. These schools lost an opportunity to evaluate their practice and perhaps add to their expertise.

We found, that because these students were in school the whole time, the possibilities of friction between them and the staff were greatly enhanced. They need somewhere they can come and discuss this on neutral territory if you like, with neutral persons in a way. I'd be sorry if that were lost.

Dillard was the only tutor who discussed the wider role of teacher education in helping to maintain an open, democratic society. Eva hinted at this and pointed out that in a school-based system the development of teachers with an intellectual and critical perspective might be lost/sacrificed. Teachers could become the deliverers of central state programmes of learning.

You need people who are going to police the school, who are going to implement the curriculum almost like robots. There won't be time for social education, for developing children as future citizens and human beings.

Teacher education, as part of the higher education process, is thus seen as providing a space in which to challenge, disagree with, test out and maybe learn to live with difference and creative tensions in educational provision.

Accommodating the dilemmas

Not all the tutors were able to work their beliefs through and consider the tensions and dilemmas in their practice. Some sought simple resolutions. Others attempted almost incredible compromises, at least in discussion about their work. For example, Rose said about the place of theory in teacher education courses

I think that in the early stages of teacher education, perhaps the first and second

year, that it should be towards the practical with the theory going into practice but in the third and fourth year it should be the theory going into the practice.

Ian who had just moved to working in the college from a local primary school says

I don't think there is any difference. I don't want to talk about theory grounded in practice because that conceptualises them as different things. But.... I certainly want to see some way of homogenising. Sometimes students have said to me that the courses are all airy fairy and they do have pragmatic needs.

He believes that some of the students "feel constrained because they feel that this place is all about theory and not what they want".

Other tutors attempt to articulate methods of procedure which integrate theory and practice, but it seems almost impossible to erode the tension. Liz put forward a complex scheme using experience to resolve the problem.

I think that with the first years, you would have to build up gradually. Perhaps it would have to be one day a week and build up, but at least you would have some kind of feed-in feed-out system where you were doing something in the seminar situation which they then took into the school and they looked at it from the viewpoint of children and they brought back and we discussed that experience. And we took it on a step ahead and you related it to the theory. And that's another problem that we have within the curriculum, that's being able to relate the practical experience to the theory soon enough, because you don't want to bombard them with theory on which they can't hang anything.

Cicely has a more 'historical' conceptualisation of what has been happening in teacher education. During her working life there have been specific curricular changes either in response to fashionable theory, and fashion does play a part in this area, or in response to acute demands. The demand for greater numbers of teachers in the sixties and the pressure for closures in the seventies played a role in shaping how the curriculum was organised and delivered. She is aware that at the present time there is a greater accent on practicality. Cicely says about theory and practice,

Well, you can't have one without the other so there's always going to be a tension. There's always going to be a pendulum that will swing backwards and forwards. I think just to throw them [students] into it and leave them to get on without help in making any sense of that experience is very wasteful because they've got to re-invent the wheel for themselves, but the other way, to tell them that there is only one way, is very narrow and might stifle all sorts of new ways of doing things.

When Liz started teaching she was completely swept up by the experience. She believes that it takes a few years to "settle down before you really start looking at your teaching". At this point, she believes that "You reach into your memory of college to see if you can sort out what is going on in your class".

There were a lot of things that passed me by and I swear I never heard about them but I'm sure they were there. And I think after you've been out there for a couple of years, particularly when you've gained experience, you realise those things are important. It's not enough to say forget about it, you have to know about it in order to do your best with the children.

The problem is one of time limitation, when should particular theories be introduced, when is it most appropriate. But Liz adds a note of warning,

I don't think you can necessarily carry a theory with you whole into an institution and expect it to work. And I do think we have to be very careful as teacher trainers that we're not expecting them to do that. And I think we do do that at times, get too unrealistic about it.

Jeremy has got the clearest grasp of the dilemmas in teacher education of all of the tutors interviewed. He talks directly from the experience of leading a very short course in which questions about theory and practice cannot be mulled over, in which there is little time for assimilation. He says that the students need to approach this tension in a different way.

What they really want to know is the answers to the problems they plainly see as theirs. They have little time for answers to questions that they're not asking. But this I think is really the fundamental weakness of initial teacher education. That in our attempts to help the students develop the grounded theory, we actually address things which are not yet.... miss out on things that are not actually concerns to them and because of the structure of our professional training, may not become or may never be allowed to become articulate concerns. Because we have this muzzle velocity, where we expect that teacher training to last them over the next forty years. We have no provision for sabbaticals, we have no provision for, say a compulsory professional diploma, say, after five years. That would be the time to address the wider questions which I certainly think the profession is poorer for not addressing. Because if it can't articulate a case for teacher education, then who is going to?

Working at Sacred Heart College, doing the job of educating teachers is a difficult task. The teaching studies tutors often feel less valued than colleagues in other faculties. They certainly interact with more students for more contact hours each week. They face dilemmas which simply do not exist in other fields.

The problem is exacerbated by the complexity of teaching, by it not being an explicit body of knowledge like an academic subject but rather a practical expertise not easily accessible to explicit formulation, by the fact that there is legitimate scope for diversity of approach and difference of opinion.

(McIntyre 90:24)

This all makes for difficulties. It is compounded by a sneaking feeling that sometimes erupts: what if teacher education really is an impossible job? What if it really is a matter of common sense, having good relations with school students and children? What if teachers are born and not made? Eva puts it like this

Haven't we seen people who are no Einsteins but they can really make kids

really want to do good work. It's something so abstract that you can't put your finger on it. You can't train a teacher, in a way you're back to the old argument are teachers made or born? Sometimes it's a bit of both - but you can't train people to do anything - you train dogs. It actually requires a lot of education but then it requires that individual response to that education and that's what makes a teacher.

Cicely

I think you can educate teachers and they shouldn't be allowed to be teachers unless they have been educated. But I don't think you can make them. They've either got that vital spark or they haven't.

These two comments illustrate another of the central and influential myths of becoming a teacher - that to a greater or lesser extent it is a mystical process intimately connected to some magical individual quality, almost a gift bestowed at birth by a fairy godmother. And this myth [and the 'naturalism' on which it is based] which is fundamental to much of the writings of the new right (O'Hear 88) also connects with a residue of beliefs and attitudes within school teaching too. It can become a convenient way of dismissing any need for self-criticism and professional development. However, Lucy is far more sceptical about all this.

I'm sure there are some people who find it easier to do than others but that's the way of things and have more confidence about it initially. But there are a lot of things that can be, that through discussion and actually experiencing things and having things pointed out to you, developed.

The experience of teacher educators, used to charting the progress of student teachers over time supports this view. Although some students are clearly at ease in the classroom at a very early stage, for the majority, the course provides a way of gaining confidence, experience, knowledge as well as craft-skills in a secure and structured manner.

The impossible job

In the not-too-distant past teacher education courses consisted of a melange of knowledge about great educators, strands of developmental psychology and prescriptions about classroom practice. This was displaced by the traditional educational disciplines of history, sociology, philosophy and psychology in order to lend a degree of academic legitimation to teacher education courses. School experience was bolted on. There was a clear dichotomy between theory and practice and it was obvious which counted for more in terms of examination weighting. Teaching was constructed as the application of a set of given theories and where this did not successfully occur, it would be due to the theory not being properly understood. The problem was that many intending teachers were unable to make direct connections between what they had studied and what they found in classrooms.

Classroom teachers criticised what they regarded as courses overly driven by irrelevant theory. This issue was taken up and investigated by researchers who argued that the question of 'relevance', of whether or not certain courses actually did help teachers to work more effectively and relate to their real concerns, needed to be addressed (Dunlop 77). As a consequence researchers focused on aspects like the 'craft knowledge' of serving teachers while others attempted to distil 'grounded theory' from a close analysis of classroom life. And while both approaches moved significantly away from a 'received' version of knowledge in sturdy attempts to utilise classroom teachers' definitions of the context, the fundamental dilemmas still remained.

Alexander (84a:143) believes that

The overuse of words has clouded debate which can reasonably be expected to revolve round the relatively open questions concerning the knowledge, intellectual capacities, attitudes and executive skills needed by the intending teacher.

While he may well be right, the 'clouded debate' will not be so easily resolved. The discourses of 'theory' and 'practice' are deeply etched into the culture, the language and lore of teachers as well as teacher education. Dis-identification does not come easily. Many of the tutors who work at Sacred Heart were inducted into this culture in their own teacher 'training'.

Alexander also suggested that there is an attitudinal dimension to these sorts of dilemmas. He believes that a gulf has developed between classroom teachers and college teachers with the student teacher caught between them. The student may be told at college that some classroom practice is inappropriate in the light of recent research. In the classroom however, the student may well be exhorted to reject all that 'airy-fairy rubbish' up at the college and get down to the nitty gritty of practical concerns. More questions need to focus on this 'gulf'. Does it exist because school and college life are necessarily different? Has a particular discourse been developed round a 'gulf' to be amplified for particular political ends?

Where then does all of this leave the college tutor? In many ways the tutor is isolated as the inhabitant of an 'ivory tower' out of touch with so-called 'reality' and marginalised sometimes by students, school teachers as well as tutors in other faculties. The job of educating teachers is but poorly understood and widely derided. The dilemmas, paradoxes and fundamental contradictions which inhabit the act of educating teachers are not resolvable, are frequently misunderstood, and result in feelings of demoralisation for the tutors themselves. Eva

I feel quite demoralised about being in teacher education. When I first came into teacher education I felt that I had a lot to offer and I felt it was an environment of learning and a rewarding experience both for students and tutors and that there was everything to play for because the more you did for students the more they might feel that they could go out and give more to children. So it was a snowballing in education and a 'jolly good experience' for everyone all round. I don't feel that anymore. I feel quite demoralised. I feel that I'm in an absolutely

no-win situation in that teacher education colleges or colleges of higher education are panned by the press. And what I find even more demoralising is that my fellow teachers - and I still feel like a teacher, I don't feel like a college lecturer, I never refer to myself as a college lecturer, I teach I don't lecture - even they are sniping at what we do.

Cicely

One of the most barren aspects in teacher education at the moment, we have too many tasks to do which I can't see as valuable. We're just chasing tails - whether they [the students] want to explore something new for themselves, there's no time for that. People who have an enquiring mind, there's no community of scholars any more. They're still here under one roof but the circumstances are not conducive to doing anything about it. And everyone's lives are that much more barren because of it. And what we're doing with students is that more barren. But I don't think the government sees that as part of what we're here for.

While I have been involved in this study, some of the teaching studies faculty have left Sacred Heart and teacher education. Some gladly took early retirement. Another informant left the college after an extended illness, while other tutors have had to take some leave of absence due to stress. Two tutors have returned to school teaching. Two other tutors resigned without jobs to go to, the task of educating teachers had proved to be too demoralising. A job which is so poorly regarded and which has been so severely undermined is difficult to keep believing in and even more difficult to keep doing. Those who remain will continue to deal with policy and will manipulate and 'read' policy documentation in a manner which seems to relate to their interests to hand and those of their students as far as they can. It seems that more and more they will be involved in a play-off between survival at a price, their professional integrity and the exigencies of their own material requirements.

This study has investigated the historical and contemporary social world of teacher educators. The job of educating teachers has not been fully understood or appreciated, it has been marginalised and regarded as second rate. Caught between the classroom and the lecture hall, teacher education has always had difficulty in obtaining resources and status. Yet much expertise and experience has been incrementally gained over the hundred years and more in which teachers have been educated by the state. Furthermore, those who teach teachers at Sacred Heart, as in many other colleges and UDEs, have particular professional allegiances, personal integrity as well as expertise on which they draw, in order to comprehend and respond to changing times. Whatever policy shifts are urged upon them, the tutors are resilient to a degree because of these philosophical and professional commitments. They will need to be resilient if they are to withstand and resist contemporary policy designs which seek to curtail their work once and for all.

Coda

"Is it any wonder when I thought
I would have second thoughts?"

Seamus Heaney. *Terminus*

Intentions

Near the end of a piece of work when the difficult process of assembling a final draft is being undertaken, decisions have to be made about what is to be included and excluded, which aspects need more or less emphasis and which parts of the narrative need extending or reducing. In this coda I would like to consider some aspects which have not perhaps been sufficiently or directly addressed in the main body of the work but which nevertheless are important enough to be given some consideration. That there are other issues, questions, dilemmas which could be subjected to the same elaboration goes without saying. In what follows I want to give some further justification of my approach and indicate the potential contribution it has to make towards an understanding of 'the job of educating teachers'.

Paradoxically it seems useful to start out with what I was not interested in exploring. A great deal of sociological inquiry has focused on the issue of whether teachers are professionals or workers (Johnson 79, Ozga and Lawn 81, Lawn and Grace 87) and this is clearly an issue pertinent to teacher education. It is rehearsed in the debates about whether the job of teaching is a practical, vocational one, or whether it is educative. (In this context the vexed issue of whether the job actually is called teacher 'training' or teacher 'education' is more than a rhetorical or semantic debate). Although I recognise that the job of teacher education could usefully be subjected to an analysis in relation to labour theory, or issues of professionalism, status and power, nevertheless I wanted to explore this complex job in a different manner.

Lawn and Grace (87:viii) claim that

There are now signs that just as the 'hidden curriculum' has emerged into the field of analysis so too have the 'hidden teachers'. The recent appearance of sources such as *Teachers' Lives and Careers*; *Teacher Careers: crises and continuities*; *Teachers' Work*; *The Politics of Teacher Unionism* and *Teachers and Texts* confirms this development and begins to place the study of teachers centrally within cultural, organisational and socio-political analysis in education.

It seemed to me that teacher educators were also 'hidden teachers'. Although there has been some consideration of their role and work (notably in feminist studies cf. Coffey and Acker 91, Heward 93) there has not been any major investigation since the work of William Taylor in the 1960s. In my study I wanted to 'reveal' something of what it is like to do the job of teaching teachers. I wanted to give 'voice' and expression to a group of marginalised education workers. I wanted to

illuminate their working lives as far as I could. My intention was to consider the 'professional' concerns of this group and to identify and illuminate some of their 'interests to hand'. It seemed to me that at a time when teacher education was (yet again) under threat, criticised by all-comers and understood by few, it was imperative that the 'story' be told, and that the contribution of these educationalists be recognised. This was my aim; the issue then was how best to approach this matter.

Theory and methods

I muddled through attempting as I did so to be theoretically aware and trying to be creative in obtaining the best quality data that is possible for me to manage in the circumstances. Perhaps 'doing sociology of education' is often a little like that in practice, particularly for researchers working alone.

(Pollard 87:117)

Knowing 'what' you want to do and 'why' is one thing; knowing 'how' is quite another. In undertaking my study there were a number of strands which I wanted to investigate. I wanted to privilege the perspectives of the key social actors in my field, those who teach teachers, but I had some reservations about solely doing this. Grace and Lawn (1987:viii) have made the point, in relation to the 'hidden lives' of school teachers that "one of the most productive approaches, ethnography" has facilitated greater insight into the work of teachers, but they add,

While the strength of these developments has allowed the focus of the educational process to be drawn to the teacher, the weakness has been the way in which an ahistorical and too narrowly focused school-based picture of the teacher has emerged.

I was committed to ethnography as a way of giving 'voice' and highlighting 'interests' but I also wanted to make explicit the particular historical and cultural setting; the specific discourses, generated over time, which are embedded in teacher education. Goodson (1985:121) has argued powerfully that there is a need to "broaden" qualitative methods and "integrate studies of historical context". He believes that some qualitative work merely confirms "the participants' myopia". "The analysis of subjective perceptions and intentions is incomplete without analysis of the historical context in which they occur" (Goodson 1977:160 cited in Goodson 1985:121). I found this to be a powerful argument and thus I started my study with a historical overview. Although this is not an exhaustive history, it is an analytical or thematic history, focusing on "key moments" in teacher education in order to identify recurrent issues. I attempted to make this theoretically relevant by utilising a framework derived from the work of Dale and Habermas. That is, the historical data was filtered through the constructs of 'value' and 'sense' (see chapter one) in order to signal some of the continuities as well as discontinuities in the social setting with which I am concerned. A historical perspective may well "bring us nearer to understanding the genesis of

present discontents" (Reader 79:178). I also recognised that this needed to be a critical overview (cf. Ginsberg 88 in Introduction to Section One).

Furthermore I fully endorse Grace's (84) point about the orienting role of theory; it needs to be a starting place and it needs to be explicit. In the first section of the study I attempt to point up some of the theoretical issues which need explication and I position my work within a politico-economic context. Perhaps too briefly, I situate the provision of teacher education within the 'contradictory' context of the welfare state. "The embarrassing secret of the welfare state is that...while capitalism cannot co exist with, neither can it exist without the welfare state" (Offe 84:153). I examine the relationship between educational provision and the state and I argue that this relationship is characterised by a set of dynamic, complex and contradictory shifts taking place at key moments of economic and ideological change.

In a complex society with pluralistic value systems there are always a variety of expectations from educational provision. Furthermore, in a free market economy there will not necessarily be direct or even clear links between capital and labour, these links will be characterised by contradiction at different times in different contexts (Jonathan 86). The state has to 'manage' these contradictions and make provision as best it can. I have argued that the state almost works in a damage-limitation manner (Dale 89) in relation to the exertions of capital (see Introduction to Section One). Let me be clearer about what I mean when I refer to "the state". I do not subscribe to a uni-dimensional theory of the state and, indeed, find Dale's conception most appropriate.

The State, then, is not a monolith, or the same as government, or merely the government's (or anybody else's) executive committee. It is a set of publicly financed institutions, neither separately nor collectively necessarily in harmony, confronted by certain basic problems deriving from its relationship with capitalism, with one branch, the government, having responsibility for ensuring the continuing prominence of those problems on its agenda.

(Dale 89:57)

The recent development of what Ozga (87) has called "policy sociology" exemplifies this conception. For example, the generation of elite studies (cf. McPherson and Raab 89, Gewirtz and Ozga 93) demonstrates the degree of autonomy as well as relative power which is invested in different 'sections' of the state. It is necessary to distinguish generally between the non-governmental and governmental agencies; the civil service and elected representatives; local and national political groupings and to identify these sectors more specifically in relation to educational provision.

The educational 'setting' is historically constructed out of a bricolage of 'state' interests and bodies; the Department for Education, the Local Educational Authorities, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, the Church (as well as the newly constituted governing bodies), all these go to make up the educational state. Obviously these agencies will have different interests to hand, different

pressures to cope with and dilemmas to resolve at particular moments in time; the resolutions of these will impact upon educational provision sometimes in a systematic fashion, sometimes haphazardly, sometimes contradictorily. In my study this kind of complexity has not been fully addressed. Instead I have focused primarily on the activities of various governments, their policies and legislative practices in relation to teacher education.

I paint in the dominant sweeps and swirls of legislative shifts and bring the history of teacher education up to date with a somewhat more detailed look at recent policy in the area. But the key point for me is that the state is not always either consistent or coherent. While it is always attentive to the needs of capital accumulation (both in terms of the technical and social reproduction of the division of labour) the agenda that produces policy is also at times driven by managerial, ideological and fiscal problems. The history of teacher education reveals the traces of this ebb and flow of state priorities.

This brings me back to the role of the ethnographic materials. Although I collected my data from one college setting, there was no intention to produce a case study of Sacred Heart per se. Indeed I had wanted to eschew this type of research (cf. Delamont 78, Atkinson and Delamont 85). Rather, it was expediency as much as anything that led me to focus on one college. (I worked as a part time student and full time tutor). It made sense to collect data in a familiar setting. Sacred Heart had the additional benefit of being a long-established college (and the denominational colleges were the original settings for the 'production' of teachers for state maintained schools). It seemed likely then that some of the traditional culture, habitus and ethos of educating teachers would still be present in this setting. Also I had relatively easy access to historical documents, contemporary documentation, as well as to the tutors and managers who worked at Sacred Heart.

The ethnography, in effect, provides a setting within which it was possible to identify and examine the traces of history and the effects of policy on teacher education. As I coded my data, read round the area, charted the political insertions into teacher education and moved further on within my field, particular themes seemed to me to best typify the job of educating teachers. Using ethnographic materials I map these out in two major ways. I examine the micropolitical interests to hand of the tutors as well as the macro developments which powerfully constrain their work. As I attempted to tease out these interwoven elements of the work of teacher educators, it became essential to relate my findings to substantive theoretical debates. So, when I discuss the effects of policy, I relate this to work on intertextual subjectivity. When I consider the interplay between central/local power, I use the construct of "steering at a distance" (Kickert 91) etc. Throughout my analysis and writing I attempt to work theory, methods and data together to inform and deepen my understanding of the phenomenon in question.

In sum, my methods were mixed, my data was varied, the study is theoretically eclectic. However I would want to claim that my work is driven by a sense of 'fitness for purpose'. I wanted to explore a complex facet of the social world and needed to employ a range of strategies and tactics; as Davies et al (85:289) have argued, "mono-methodic case studies in social studies are only contingently justifiable". Brewer and Hunter (89:23) have talked about the need to create "order without orthodoxy". In *Multimethod Research: A synthesis of Styles* they say,

This type of investigation is rapidly coming to be regarded as a research style in its own right, one as distinctive in its way as the more conventional styles upon which it builds.

(Brewer and Hunter 89:28)

Ethical Questions

All human research has ethical dimensions

Simons (89:114)

In 1984, Richard Pring published a short article called "Confidentiality and the right to know". This paper focussed on the central philosophical and moral issue which is presented by any research project; the right to know set against and alongside certain ethical issues, questions of value. "Moral problems arise concerning the right of researchers and evaluators to know what they need to know for their particular purposes" (Pring 1984:8). Pring (84:142) cited Stuart Mills' justification for the right to informed information;

the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

Pring went on to ask a more important question. Can the right to know ever be a basic right without any other appeal to additional principles? Pring believes that the 'right to know' needs to be qualified by issues of private and public interest as well as trust and confidentiality. In many ways, the act of researching calls up conflicts between 'rights' as well as questions of 'values' and, as Pring acknowledges, these dilemmas are rarely clear-cut and are situationally specific. This point is reinforced in the literature on ethics in research (Burgess 85, Punch 86, Homan 91, Renzetti and Lee 93).

Lee and Renzetti (93:5) claim that all research has the potential to be seen as sensitive; that is, the work "poses for those involved a substantial threat". In undertaking my work in Sacred Heart College I faced a number of ethical dilemmas. In these difficult times, any critique of teacher education has to beware that it does not become a hostage to fortune. When I negotiated access

with the Academic Vice Principal, I gave assurances that my study was not intended to damage the institution or those who worked there. Indeed, when I started the study (and the focus was initially different) the institution itself did not seem that important. I had started with the intention of focusing on student teachers and their work with tutors en-route to becoming a teacher. It was as my work proceeded that I became more interested in the nature of the job of the tutors. This change of focus was discussed with those concerned (which is not always the case in ethnographic research).

It might well be that some informed readers will think they are able to identify Sacred Heart. It was not my intention or purpose that that be possible or important. But it is a possibility in any study that employs qualitative methods in a single setting (see Ball 85). My primary purpose was to illuminate aspects of working in initial teacher education. I hoped to identify theories and issues which would be part of the experiences of many of us who teach teachers. Sacred Heart provided a 'setting' for this. Obviously, as a result, some of the features of my study are idiosyncratic; Sacred Heart would not have the sound reputation and particular ethos it has, without its own particular 'house-style'. But the culture, the history and the project of Sacred Heart are not unique. They are shared in various degrees across all the 'old' teacher training colleges.

Similarly I had no intention that the tutors involved in the study be identifiable to the general reader. Some of them criticise management style, some criticise central government policy; such criticisms are by no means unique to Sacred Heart. But I was interested in 'types' of response and criticism rather than relating these to individuals. To bolster my anonymization of tutors, in some cases I have changed the gender and job description as well as (obviously) all the names of the participants. I gave assurances of confidentiality to my participants (which are honoured in the text) and I have withheld various pieces of data. I recognised and still recognise the potential threat which identification might hold for some and have discussed this with those concerned in the more dramatic examples.

There are a variety of ethical issues such as research relations, informed consent as well as data dissemination which have to be considered in any qualitative project which is based "on close relationships in the field" (Burgess 89:60). What is more, in a research project which moves forward on the basis of reflexivity, progressive focussing and open-ended inquiry (Burgess 85), the need to re-negotiate and continually discuss the research in hand is desirable (Simons 89, Troyna and Carrington 89, Mac an Ghaill 91). I was careful to observe what I considered to be the major ethical responsibilities. In these respects I informed individuals of the work and its purpose. I offered transcripts of interviews to key informants. I offered draft chapters to many of the tutors. In only one case did I ever get any feed-back from a written piece of work. (This may well have been due to the effects of work intensification). My experience was one where my key

informants were extremely busy. I found myself rather pressing draft work and interview transcripts upon them than being subjected to rigorous and constant negotiation about ethics. As Burgess (89:74) has recognised, "It is relatively easy to prescribe a set of abstract principles [but] it is less easy to apply them or enforce them".

Magolda and Robinson (93) have argued that the ethical role of the researcher in relation to the researched is highly complex, shifting and messy. They believe it is central that the researcher recognise that harm can be done by research. Political harm' might not only be done to an institution, or individual career profile, but emotional harm may occur in interpersonal settings. For example, they argue that there are frequently difficulties with anonymity in qualitative work (Lincoln and Guba 89) and they recognise that "even if no one can identify the situations or people studied, those studied can: hence, the potential for pain and elation is always there" (Eisner 91:221, cited in Magolda and Robinson 93:12). But they offer no solution to this problem. I have no easy solutions either.

The first issue is to recognise these dilemmas, the second is to try and do something about them, while managing to carry on with the project at hand. I have tried to cultivate my awareness. And this awareness has informed my practice throughout. To reiterate, I have employed what is called "self-censorship" (Adler and Adler 93). I removed from the original draft, any material which I thought could cause difficulty (as far as I could predict at this stage). Sagarin (73) has made a case for self-censorship in order to protect those who could be damaged by potentially threatening disclosures. But the decisions are primarily mine, based on my awareness of the setting, my discussions with respondents, my estimation of harm which might or might not be done. It is ever thus in human research. "Self-censorship constitutes an ethical dilemma that must be resolved by each individual involved in the research endeavour" (Adler and Adler 93: 263). Punch (86:83) has argued that researchers should utilise their common sense as well as their sense of social responsibility.

Abandoning the field without consideration for the consequences is a form of betrayal, and exposing the institution also exposes our previous "partners" who let us into their world on the implicit understanding of secrecy about their deviant and concealed antics.

I have done the best I could and I hope and believe no harm will come either to Sacred Heart or any of the staff, as a consequence of this modest piece of work.

Contribution of the study

I recognise there are many limitations to and omissions from my study, as with almost any PhD. It would have been interesting to have focused more clearly on differences between primary and secondary specialist tutors. It may have been useful to attempt to compare and contrast the perspectives of those who work mainly with specific courses; the BEd or the PGCE. Indeed, if

data had also been collected in a university department of education, there may have been significant differences to be explored between the settings. (The university setting has a different history and purpose). The work of the colleges however, their particular culture, ethos and purpose, comes out of a different project - the preparation of the elementary school teacher - which is why I was particularly drawn to the setting.

This study explores the historical and contemporary world of teacher education and maps out the continuities as well as discontinuities in policy and practice which have persisted over time. I wanted to 'reveal' the world inhabited by a group of education workers who have been at best ignored, but who have been frequently maligned and misunderstood. It seemed to me when I started this work, as it seems to me still, that:

the particular irony of the situation is that members of an occupational group who are by their own rhetoric, engaged in explaining the world critically and in a relational sense, are to an important extent precluded from doing this in relation to their own situation.

(Grace 78:218).

Perhaps my study will make a small contribution towards deconstructing and remedying this situation.

Appendix 1. School-based initial teacher education

By the late eighties it was clear that the Conservative Government was still concerned that their reforms in education were not stringent enough. The schools had been disciplined and were starting to come to terms with reforms in their sector but one important loophole needed to be closed. Various HMI reports, such as 'Quality in schools' (1987) and 'Initial Teacher Training in Universities' (1988) showed that, "while the training system had considerable strengths there were also important weaknesses, particularly in the quality of the students' experience in school" (HMI 91:1). In 1991 the Secretary of State for Education charged the HMI with a further task which was published as "School-based Initial Teacher Education in England and Wales" 1991. It was clear that further reforms of initial teacher education were in the pipeline and, as usual, an HMI investigation signalled the way things were moving. What is interesting to note is that the published report only gave a cautious welcome to school focused work but still saw a need for the "essential knowledge and experience from higher education". The report added that "the main challenge in initial training is bringing these two kinds of essential expertise together in the most effective way" (91:31). They sounded a number of clear warnings related to inappropriate or 'poor' schools, the need for careful selection of the school teachers to be involved, and warned about the resources needed to achieve all this.

The main conclusion of this report is that simply providing more time in school is not enough. The concept of school-based training should not be merely a quantitative one but should include also the quality of teacher involvement in planning, providing and assessing training and the quality of co-operation between higher education and schools.

(HMI Report 91:36)

However, this 'loophole' in teacher education had been recognised by the reforming zealots of the new right. Sheila Lawlor identified the central problem as follows. She recognised the value of reforms which intended to put "more emphasis on subject teaching and classroom work," the CATE criteria and the National Curriculum, but she was concerned that they did not go far enough,

those reforms may have led to some changes in the broad division of courses and the allocation of time but the heart of the problem remained. Training was in the hands of those whose livelihood rested on the propagation of some educational theory or other.

(Times 6.1.92)

What had underpinned the earlier reforms of CATE was a particular discourse, a specific 'regime of truth' which was employed in order to shift policy in a particular direction. The perennial complaint of irrelevant theory and the move towards more 'practical' and 'relevant' school experience as the basis for teacher education had led to the development of two new routes into

teaching as well as policy change. The articulated and the licensed teacher route, in particular, was strongly contested but these were never major routes into teaching. Indeed they both look likely to be phased out on the grounds of cost. The traditional PGCE is a cheaper route into working in schools. However, what was certainly 'fixed' into contemporary discourse by the development of these routes was the perception that school-based teacher education was the best model of preparation. What had clearly been voiced was a new popular 'regime of truth' through which the state was able yet again to assert a version of 'sense' while erasing issues of 'value'.

Here it is possible to see, almost totally replicated, an older, discredited version of teacher education; the model of an apprentice learning alongside in the classroom which had so soundly been seen to fail in the late nineteenth century. The 'regime of truth' that practical experience is the best teacher, theory is irrelevant and schools the best place to promote learning about pedagogy has its very origins in the past failures of teacher education history. But this school based model had been examined, reshaped and reworked by some innovative institutions and had led to the development of two very exciting PGCE routes for secondary subject teachers.

Sussex University has had a school-based PGCE for over twenty years. Oxford LEA with Oxford University Department of Education developed an extremely successful but expensive school based PGCE. At the heart of both of these programmes was a belief that schools and institutions needed to work more closely together. These were and are both strong attempts to make clear and critical connections between theory and practice, not to exclude one while extolling the other.

However, as with other 'reforms', after the discussion documents or reports have been issued from the DFE, as a form of softening-up, a form of legitimisation, then comes the statement of intent of action, irrespective of what the report or inquiry has suggested. All subtleties are removed and the policy is now made clear. On the fourth of January 1992, at the North of England Conference, Kenneth Clarke the Secretary of State for Education announced his new proposals. The PGCE secondary route was to be transferred to schools; four-fifths of the work would be school based by September 1992. Further statements would be made about primary teacher education. Since this announcement there was a general election and another Conservative Government was returned to power and there have been ministerial changes. John Patten the new Secretary of State for Education has proposed a model for the secondary PGCE where only one third is to remain institutionally based. However, Patten has evaded the most important question for schools and higher educational institutions alike; he has made no statement on the new funding arrangements and it seems as if colleges and schools are to haggle in the market place about the costs of placing students in schools.

What is being attempted here is a further disciplining of teacher educators. They cannot be trusted to do what they are supposed to do and so they have to be disciplined. Again there is a shift towards a situation of ever more tightly 'regulated autonomy' where less and less space is

left for the professional judgement of teacher educators. The disciplining will be applied by the savage cuts and job losses which may follow as a consequence of these new regulations where the funding will follow the student teachers into schools and out of the institutions.

How has Sacred Heart adjusted to this new demand?

The teacher education 'reforms' contained in Circ. 9/92 were announced after I had finished collecting my data but some comments can be made. Sacred Heart has a strong relationship with its schools, many of which are Catholic, and it is still able to appeal to this in order to ensure a continuing relationship. This is one example of where the college has been able to play the rogue card of Catholicity in order to maintain itself. Sacred Heart called an immediate meeting of its Catholic heads and made an appeal for solidarity and support for the secondary PGCE. It will use its schools without charge at least for another year. But it will increase the time of students in school.

Appendix 2 Questionnaire

Questionnaire

1. Year Appointed to College

2. Female / Male

3. Age. Please ring

Under 30	30 - 35	35 - 40	40 - 45	45 - 50	50 - 55	55+
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4. Current status (SL PL etc). Any responsibilities eg course leader?

5. Qualifications and year obtained (eg Cert. Ed. '67, MA '91)

6. Publications

7. Your own Teacher Education . Could you please name the institution, title of course and years involved ? (eg Cert. Ed. St Johns Durham 72-75)

8. School teaching experience. Could you please give the total of years, sector(s) concerned and posts involved.

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	Advisory	FE	Adult Ed.
No. of years experience						

Posts involved -

9. Teacher education experience

a. Is this your first appointment in teacher education? Yes/No

b. If not, which other college(s) have you worked in? If you prefer not to name these could you please say how many previous institutions you have worked in and for how long?

c. Where do your major teaching commitments/responsibilities lie? Subject, pedagogy , management etc.

d. Which aspects of your work do you enjoy the most? Why?

e. Had you any connections with the College prior to recruitment as a lecturer? (past student, teaching practice, part time or visiting lecturer etc)

f. Why were you attracted to work in this sector?

Appendix 3 Research Methodology

To look at any thing
If you would know that thing
You must look at it long;
To look at this green and say
'I have seen spring in these
woods' will not do - you must
Be the thing you see:
You must be the dark snakes of
Stems and ferny plumes of leaves,
You must enter in
To the small silences between
The leaves,
You must take your time
And touch the very place
They issue from.

Moffit (71:149).

The beginning

Within each researcher exists a topic, theme, problem, or question that represents a critical interest and area of search. The task of the initial engagement is to discover an intense interest, a passionate concern that calls out the researcher, one that holds important social meanings, and personal, compelling implications. The initial engagement invites self-dialogue, an inner search to discover the topic and question. During this process one encounters the self, one's autobiography, and significant relationships within a social context

Moustakas (90:27)

I was a student at a small teacher training college in the late sixties. I worked in various inner city primary schools until the mid-eighties when I got a job in what had by then become a college of higher education. From being a relatively successful and senior teacher, I now became a grassroots tutor, with little influence and, thankfully, few administrative responsibilities. My job was to help intending teachers move into the classroom as best I could. I had been 'trained' to teach young children yet here I was, working with adults for the first time, a job for which I had no obvious preparation. I had no knowledge at all about the sector; its history or its present condition. My practical teaching experience and the theoretical underpinning from a recent masters degree were supposed to be enough. I was given no in-service support and no planned professional development to 'make the leap'. I had to learn where I could, watching, thinking, experimenting. It was not a good way to learn.

However I developed a 'critical interest' in the sector and in the job of educating teachers. I sensed that education studies were not highly regarded and saw evidence for this in the lack of resourcing and understaffing of this work. When I attended conferences and spoke with tutors from other institutions, these impressions seemed to be part of their experiences. These

perceptions were shared by many of the tutors at Sacred Heart, some of whom had also recently arrived from school. There seemed to be a divide in the college staff of 'educationalists' and 'academics'. There was a privileging of 'subject' over 'pedagogy'. Teaching studies was a second class marginalised concern in many ways.

I started to read some of the standard historical texts in the field (Dent 77, Rich 33). It became clear to me that the job of teacher education had always been a complex, contested and undervalued occupation. It was also evident that very little research work had been undertaken in relation to the perceptions, values and beliefs of those most concerned; the tutors themselves. This seemed to me to be a significant oversight.

At the same time as I changed my job in a school for a job in a college, more fundamental changes in the educational system were underway. In the late sixties and early seventies a massive restructuring of economic policy occurred in Britain (Levitas 86). There was a shift from Keynesianism into monetarism in the seventies and eighties. It was being asserted that state intervention into the market did not work, anything which limited competition was inefficient and that control of inflation was all that mattered. Levitas argues that this economic shift has had ideological outcomes and these have underpinned and shaped contemporary social policy. Certainly this has been reflected in the educational context. What has been established is an "education market arising out of the provisions of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) where choice and competition are set alongside testing, 'standards' and financial incentives" (Ball 90b:3).

This has been made possible not by coercion or repression but through the shaping of a new discourse which has reached deep into the fears and concerns of contemporary society. A deep social crisis has occurred and is occurring in which it is possible to "construct a politics which does speak to people's experience, which does insert itself into.... the contradictory nature of common sense" (Hall 88:176). It has been relatively easy to create a moral panic around schooling within this politics of 'common sense'. Schools have failed, standards have fallen, teachers are not properly educated.

While these discursive shifts in relation to the school sector were taking place, it seemed clear to many of us working in teacher education that inevitably we were the "next in line for treatment" (Whitty 91a). Teacher education would need to be disciplined by the application of a market ideology. Teacher education would need to become more competitive, less restricted and more flexible. The same softening-up techniques were used: a series of unfavourable reports was issued. A 'crisis' related to the 'new teacher in school' was orchestrated. Only the market could help. What was needed was greater flexibility with varied routes into teaching while traditional routes were to be scrutinised through the unprecedented state intervention of the

CATE mechanism. As I moved into a new job in teacher education in 1984 the CATE criteria were being moved into place.

It seemed immediately apparent to me that there were some major mis-matches between what I was experiencing and what was being asserted by the educational state. Many of my colleagues seemed genuinely concerned to develop competent classroom professionals. But they felt undervalued and under-resourced. They believed in the usefulness of what they were doing. But they were concerned about aspects of policy development which they saw as regressive. They were concerned at a clear lack of consultation and they were seriously dismayed by the funding changes in the sector. They were overwhelmingly depressed about what seemed to them to be clear signals of cuts to come and possible college closures. As each new element of teacher education policy was constructed and made public, from apprenticeships, licensing and even distance-learning packs for becoming a teacher, their fears grew. I sensed a major concern which I had also perceived in the job of being a school teacher; a new discourse had been gradually inserted into the popular consciousness which asserted a new 'common sense'. Everyone has been to school and everyone knows how to organise and run schools. So called 'experts' just reiterate tired theories about a job they cannot perform and in any case, they just want to protect their status-quo. What is needed is a fresh approach. Teaching school students and preparing intending teachers is a straightforward business of transmitting skills and competencies. 'You just need to like children and have some specific subject knowledge. Then you just teach them. Anyone can do it and maybe the best place for this to happen is totally in school.' The complex job of helping children and school students in their learning is being reduced to a common sense DIY approach which is compatible with the new market discourse. Any 'interference' from so-called experts would be evidence of a Luddite or protectionist stance; 'they would say that, wouldn't they', neatly sidelining most attempts at any form of defence.

Gradually, through my reading, thinking, teaching, talking with colleagues and living through the build-up to the Educational Reform Act, it became apparent to me that some of this was new and some was not so new. Certain persistent themes were being picked up and reworked into the contemporary discourses of teacher education. Policy, history and "personal compelling reasons" (Moustakas 90:27) came together to produce 'the topic and question' for my own research. As Marshall and Rossman (89:28) have written, "in qualitative research, questions and problems for research most often come from real-world observations, dilemmas, and questions".

After the initial engagement with an area of concern and interest comes the process of formulating more precise questions and lines of enquiry. Polanyi (83) has considered how this occurs. He believes that tacit knowing is a vital ingredient in moving towards a more explicit knowledge. For example we can 'sense' our way in the darkness or 'read' an emotion in the face

of another. We have a range of perceptual capacities which inform our consciousness (Moustakas 90). These lead us to generate hunches and some initial insights into social phenomenon. This then supports a move into an intuitive stance.

Intuition is an essential characteristic of seeking knowledge. Without the intuitive capacity to form patterns, relationships, and inferences, essential material for scientific knowledge is denied or lost. Intuition facilitates the researchers' process of asking questions about phenomena that hold promise for enriching life. In substance, intuition guides the researcher in discovery of patterns and meanings that will lead to enhanced meanings, and deepened and extended knowledge

(Moustakas 90:24)

At a very early stage in my investigation I knew I wanted to find out more about teacher education. In my mind I had a wide variety of interests, concerns, intuitions, hunches and impressions which I wanted to clarify. I had a professional interest in the preparation of teachers and a commitment to this. I believe in the value of a critical and empowering education which will enable people, individually and collectively, to participate in creating a socially just and democratic society. The role of the teacher in this task is critical. I was concerned that the sweeping changes which were affecting teacher education were undermining the albeit limited progress which teachers and teacher educators had made towards this end. But where should my research focus? On what specific concerns should I concentrate? To what level of activity should my analysis be addressed? Schon notes;

On the high hard ground, manageable problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research-based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy confusing problems defy technical solution. The irony of this situation is that the problems of the high ground tend to be relatively unimportant to individuals or society at large.... while in the swamplands lie the problems of greatest human concern.

(Schon 87:3)

In teacher education there are certainly many issues related to the "high hard ground" such as course structure, skills and competencies, school-college partnerships, classroom mentors etc but for many practitioners, issues of significance reside in the "swampy lowlands". Concerns about the nature and quality of student development, relationships, managing to do the job as well as possible, coping with particular constraints as well as various micropolitical aspects are more the interests-to-hand of the education tutor. It is these "swampy lowlands" which I was interested in charting.

The study

I wanted to find out more about the job of educating teachers and it seemed self-evident that the most obvious thing to do was to explore "the routine ways in which people make sense of their

world in everyday life" (Hammersley and Atkinson 89:3). The logical way into the "swampy lowlands" seemed to be to ask the tutors, key actors in all this, about their beliefs, values and aspirations. I also needed to examine the setting for this, the regimes and culture of the job and an ethnographic approach seemed to be the most appropriate. As I was undertaking this work on my own it seemed sensible to base the work in one institution to which I had easy access. However because I was working in teacher education this could mean that there would be problems in terms of 'lack of distance' from the field'.

At the heart of ethnography resides a paradox.

Ethnography not only implies engagement of the researcher in the world under study; it also implies a commitment to a search for meaning, a suspension of preconceptions, and an orientation to discovery

Ball (90c:157)

One of the problems frequently raised in consideration of ethnographic work is related to this "suspension of preconceptions". Ethnographers privilege human agency and sometimes do not deal adequately with this in relation to themselves. The researcher will have interests, concerns and perspectives which will have precipitated the inquiry in the first place. Frequently, then, it is argued that the data is less objective or distorted in some way. However, as Ball (90c:170) argues, "rigour and pseudo-objectivity are not the same thing". Through careful, reflexive and systematic interrogation of the conduct of the research it should be possible to capture a sense of the whole which is recognisable to other actors and is generalisable to other comparable settings. However, because ethnography is based on social interactions and the researcher is caught up in a social process inevitably there will be some problems.

In my study these issues would sometimes surface and would have to be carefully addressed. For example, when I was collecting data from women tutors in the faculty of teaching studies I recognised their experience and empathised with incidents which had occurred. They had also occurred to me. This meant that I could have exaggerated their occurrence or their effects. But I also had data from interviews with men tutors and I had statistical evidence which supported the comments made by the women tutors. Sometimes it is not this easy to address these sorts of problems, some of which may not even be recognised by the researcher. Perhaps the only recourse is to allow the data to speak for itself, recognise one's own commitments, values and concerns and attempt to carefully do the best possible in the research context. For example, although I did not agree with many of the observations made by one of the managers in the teaching studies faculty, it was clear that he was driven by a different set of 'managerial' interests to hand. It was his responsibility to ensure that the faculty functioned adequately and another part of his job was a concern to keep up morale.

Whatever direction the government wants us to move in, we're going to have to move in it.... If we were told to produce a two year degree of some quality, given a couple of months to produce it, we could produce a two year degree of some quality, no doubt about that. We could do it. I think academics are noted for being versatile and they can do the job even under the most trying circumstances.

At the outset then all I had was a set of concerns, critical interest in the area and a belief in its value. As Shimahara (88:84) has argued,

The problems that ethnographers study emerge from their substantive and theoretical interests. A substantive interest is an awareness of problems that arise in ongoing inquiry. Theoretical interests arise from established theories that constitute researchers' theoretical frames of reference. Thus the first strategy of inquiry entails a broad examination of the historical, social and cultural contexts of problems, and an identification of the relation of the problems to pertinent theories and literature.

The first section of my study is an account of the historical, social and cultural context.

Shimahara has highlighted a central difference between quantitative and qualitative research: in the latter, questions and hypotheses are not generated prior to data collection. "The guiding questions are typically formulated after the orienting phase of fieldwork, and such questions are generally regarded as tentative hypotheses, continually subjected to refinement as research proceeds" (88:83). This reflexive and critical stance means that the inquiry is led by a constant dialogue with the data collected, by a progressive focusing on the topic all the while underpinned by an engagement with theory. This means that the process of qualitative research is a non-linear, complex and difficult undertaking. Ball (87:viii) has expressed this process as one where, "Analytical insights and interpretative hunches [are] ploughed back into and used to organize and direct the continuing process of data collection and literature search". However, I did have a particular theoretical stance which informed what I did which needs to be made explicit at this point.

Moving into the investigation - theoretical underpinning

Burgess (85) has identified four characteristics which he says are present to a certain degree in all qualitative work. Firstly the researcher works in a 'natural setting'. Secondly qualitative work is characterised by its flexibility. The study can be formulated and reformulated. As a consequence of progressive focusing on the setting through a continual engagement with the data, it is essential to constantly appraise and sometimes revise and redesign the study. Thirdly, Burgess believes that for many workers in this methodology, symbolic interactionism is central. Finally he believes that qualitative work is characterised by the simultaneous collection and analysis of data.

Herbert Blumer explains symbolic interaction as follows:

Symbolic interactionism rests in the last analysis on three simple premises. The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. Such things include everything that the human being may note in his [sic] world - physical objects, such as trees or chairs; other human beings, such as a mother or a store clerk; categories of human beings, such as friends or enemies; institutions as a school or a government; guiding ideals, such as individual independence or honesty; activities of others, such as their commands or requests; and such situations as an individual encounters in his daily life. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.

Blumer (86:2)

Blumer argued that this was all grounded in a number of "root images". He says that essentially any conceptual scheme which is employed to engage with human society must "respect the fact that in the first and last instances human society consists of people engaging in action.... The social interaction which occurs needs to be strongly understood as a process in its own right." It forms human conduct as well as providing a context for exchange of meanings. For example, he says that the actions of an individual have outcomes in the responses of another which may trigger or precipitate other interactions. In other words, the actions of other people have to be taken into account and therefore it is necessary to be able to decentre and to see the world from the other's point of view.

Blumer qualifies all this by saying that symbolic interactionism means an acceptance of the nature of objects in all this. He argues that all elements of social reality - physical objects like tables and chairs; social objects like a mother, a friend; abstract objects like philosophical beliefs - all have particular and specific meanings for the people for whom these are constituted as objects. Symbolic interactionism by its very nature then is able to take account of the parts these objects play in the various social interactions in which people engage. The significance of all this, Blumer says, is that certain groups of people inhabit what he calls different "worlds" with different objects signifying different roles and status. It logically follows from this, as he adds, that "in order to understand the action of people it is necessary to identify their world of objects" (Blumer 86:11). It also follows that these meanings, these worlds, are socially constructed. In my study of the job of teacher education, many of these "root images" or objects needed consideration: theory and practice, education as opposed to training, and 'good practice' were part of the shared meanings of the education tutors.

Blumer stresses the centrality of agency, what he calls 'human action' in all of this. He immediately links this to the genesis of the social 'self' and says that "one's waking life consists of a series of such indications that the person is making to himself, indications that he

uses to direct his actions" (85:13). This reveals a construction of the human being as active rather than a passive recipient of or respondent to external stimulus. This means that actions are formed in relation to "indications and interpretations". This can occur on a collective level too. Blumer gives as an example of this, the model of a nation trying to correct a trade deficit by firstly interpreting what is happening in its arena of economic activity.

Some of these social collective actions become routinised but these are never constant. As Blumer adds "it is the social process in group life that creates and upholds up the rules, not the rules that create and uphold life" (85:19). These interconnections can be extended to make up much of life and frequently are identified as 'systems' within societies. For instance, Blumer discusses the closed manner in which some sociological work has treated with particular aspects of 'human group life' or institutions, regarding them as almost 'self operating' networks. He believes strongly that this is to privilege a position which negates the power and influence which small groups or particular individuals can play in shaping events. He believes that any collective activity has not come out of thin air, it is predicated on social interaction and activity which has gone before. It was important to my study to tease out the culture of the college and of teacher education and mark out the way in which aspects of all this have persisted over time. At the end of his chapter on symbolic interactionism Blumer (85:60) says,

My conclusion, in contrast to the undue length of this essay, is indeed brief. It can be expressed as a simple injunction: respect the nature of the empirical world and organise a methodological stance to reflect that respect. This is what I think symbolic interactionism tries to do.

However, although qualitative research is "not based upon a fixed set of rigid procedures,.... nevertheless the researcher does need to develop a set of strategies and tactics in order to organise, manage and evaluate" Burgess (85:9).

The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned.

(Hammersley and Atkinson 89:3)

Discussion of research tactics

In a real sense what follows is a contradictory piece of work. I have argued above that the research methodology which I employed was an integrated process of continual comparison and progressive focusing down onto my area of investigation. However, at this point I am going to consider separately some of the key tactics which I used in the field.

Entry and Access

Researchers who work in familiar settings need to make the familiar setting strange by asking questions about the activities that occur rather than taking them as given.

Burgess (85:259)

There are important factors related to entry which have been carefully considered by many qualitative researchers (Spencer 74, Wax 71). Generally the researcher is warned that care and time need to be taken to negotiate with the 'gatekeepers' of the particular field of inquiry. There is a need to be able to reassure the participants that "neither the setting nor the people involved in it are harmed" (Marshall and Rossman 89:63). The researcher is also warned that entry may have to be continually renegotiated particularly when working in a large institution. There are factors of trust, ethics and political issues to consider as well. Wax (71) has written about the central importance of trust in undertaking qualitative research. She has said that fieldworkers must take care not to assume that tolerance implies a degree of inclusion or regard. The fieldworker has to spend time in building up relationships, dispelling fear and other concerns and explaining the work to be undertaken. In setting up my work these elemental principles became evident.

In negotiating permission to proceed with the work, I had first to negotiate with a senior member of management and had to assure him that my work would not in any way damage the institution (see Coda). Obviously, in a time of great political pressure on the sector and on teacher education, he did not want to give permission for anything which would add to the difficulties both within Sacred Heart and to the sector at large. This fear and distrust was evident at some points in my work. I was made aware by a tutor that she had discussed what she would and would not say to me with her immediate line manager. So the need to renegotiate, dispel fears and share my thoughts was a constant in this work. At the same time, the support of some of the grassroot tutors who wanted to assist me in this 'academic' enterprise meant that there was a constant questioning of "was this what you wanted?" and "have I told you all the right things?" I frequently gave out copies of transcripts and parts of work in progress and only infrequently received any direct feedback. Nevertheless it was important to share the work in this manner. It gave clear signals to the tutors in the college that this work was open and they had access to it.

Another fascinating and related element is the issue of the role of the researcher. There certainly was some need to "teach the participants what the researcher's role" was (Marshall and Rossman 89:65). At first I had to spend time explaining the methodology and discussing interviewing, sharing transcripts, the use of observation, and the usefulness of informal encounters. However, there came a time when some tutors started to regard me as a source for

checking gossip or as a source for therapeutic support. Frequently it was important to reiterate just what I was attempting to do and sometimes it was necessary to place certain interactions or discussions 'off limits' in order to sustain the research relationship. During the time when I was collecting data, individual tutors would approach me and probe my role, testing out reactions and assertions in the light of what they thought to be my 'neutral' stance. However, as Vidich (69) has argued, there are dilemmas involved in this. The researcher is not just a neutral observer. Indeed it may well be that participants will not trust someone who purports to hold a neutral stance. It was important therefore to be able to actively discuss the research, the tentative findings and some of the conflicts and contradictions involved.

Field work: Observations, interviews and documents

At this point it seems useful to discuss some of the methods used to collect the data. I collected the data over a period of three and a half years with episodes of greater and lesser intensity and used a variety of complementary tactics during this period. I used my initial observations from within a variety of college settings. I attended a variety of meetings. I conducted in-depth interviews and re-interviewed a smaller group of tutors who became key-informants. Burgess (85:97) has highlighted an "area that is relatively under-examined in ethnographic research on educational settings, namely the use of key informants". He believes that in many cases, 'chance' encounters develop into closer relationships and friendships which facilitate the collection of data. In this way a small number of social actors become crucial to the collection of and reflection on the data being gathered. Tutors contacted me to let me know when impromptu meetings were to take place. They sometimes tape recorded meetings for me or photocopied documents which they thought I would like to see. I wrote to tutors, had telephone conversations with them and went with them to conferences. I went to dinner at their homes, went to their birthday parties and spent evenings in their studies in the college. I observed them teaching their students and attended some of their lectures to whole year groups. I read their dissertations and their essays for courses. I also collected and read as many of the internal documents and formal validation documents as I was able to obtain. I attended important events such as the Graduation Ceremony, the Going Down Ball and the official starts to the academic year in the college chapel. I sat in the refectory and the senior common room watching, talking, sharing coffee and conversations. I chatted with people in cloakrooms and corridors. I interviewed contemporary students and retired tutors. After some time I did some visiting teaching in the college in order to make a positive contribution towards tutors who were certainly being very helpful towards my work. This meant that if an important meeting was going to occur or some substantive development was being discussed, key tutors would contact me so that I could ensure a place in the meeting or a sight of relevant documents. All these elements are of course common practice in the repertoire of the ethnographer.

In what follows I would like to focus on three of the major tactics I employed; observation, interview and document review which were dominant in my data collection. I also gathered some information through a questionnaire but this is discussed elsewhere (chapter five). There are important questions which need to be discussed in relation to the collection of data. These relate to questions about 'what counts', what to observe and what needs to be considered in greater depth. These issues were framed in this investigation by the "views, experiences, meanings and interpretations of the social actors involved" (Ball 87:26). In my study these people were the tutors in the teaching studies faculty. While it is true that this displaces other participants' experiences of working and studying at Sacred Heart College the intention was to concentrate on those directly involved in teaching teachers. I was interested less in a 'how to do it better' approach, more in a 'what is it like?' investigation. From this starting point certain data were less relevant than others. I was attempting to uncover aspects of the reality of educating teachers which would be ignored or obscured by other forms of investigation. I was attempting to chart

problems such as morale, the functioning of bureaucracy, blockage in effective communication, corruption and ranges of bribery, 'exploiting the system' favouritism and cliquishness, the rise (and decline) of oligarchic control.

(Blumer 76:18)

In short I was interested in the "swampy lowlands" and it was this concern which underpinned and shaped the data collection.

Observations

Marshall and Rossman (89:79) believe that

through observation, the researcher learns about behaviours and the meanings attached to those behaviours. An assumption is made that behaviour is purposive and expressive of deeper values and beliefs. Observation can range from highly structured, detailed notation of behaviour to more diffuse, ambiguous description of events and behaviour.

During my period of collecting data I kept field notebooks and maintained a research diary. I also sat in on lectures, seminars and workshops. In the literature on observation there is an abundance of work on participant observation where the researcher has first hand involvement in the social world under scrutiny. When I started this work, by virtue of the fact that I worked in the sector I was indeed a participant observer. So I certainly was immersed in the setting and was able to experience the context in a direct manner. In the context of this study where I observed other people doing their job, teaching students, there were important issues which needed to be resolved. At a superficial level, the fact that I observed tutors working with groups of students in sometimes constricted and limited contexts with a minimum of resourcing meant that they felt that I was able to understand the pressures and constraints of their daily

life. But it opened them to the risk of being seen as not particularly successful or indeed even unable to put into practise the values and beliefs which they had expressed in interviews.

This was particularly the case with some curriculum tutors whose work I had never seen. For example I observed a tutor with a group of second year BEd students. We had previously discussed the constraints involved. There are two tutors who have to teach 40 post graduate students and 600 undergraduate students for 100 hours of their respective courses (CATE criteria). This means both tutors have high contact hours, high student numbers and vast quantities of marking and preparation. The pressure is reduced a little by grouping the students in clusters of twenty-plus students and teaching the same session four or five times. The problem then comes when the tutor gets the groups mixed up and cannot always remember, from week to week, what has been said in the previous session. It also means with a high contact time that preparation suffers. The session which I observed was not very successful. When we discussed the session afterwards the tutor was embarrassed about the sloppy start and the fact that she didn't know many of the students by name. However, later in an interview she was able to relate her personal difficulties to the broader situational constraints in teaching studies.

Well you saw what it was like over there. How can you do a proper job? The college has no real commitment to teaching studies, at least not in its staffing policy

So observation serves a variety of functions. It can increase the degree of empathy between researcher and actor and facilitate the collection of more data. It can give the observer a broader 'flavour' of the social setting. It can reveal structural and material constraints in the context being observed. It can also serve a more directed purpose.

For example, in the course of the research I became interested in gendered relations in the college. I talked to a variety of tutors, observed conduct in meetings and observed amounts and times of interactions. I also observed tutors with their students. Again some contradictions were observed. For example, I spent time observing one curriculum tutor, who has an expressed concern about gender issues in the classroom. The session ran from 11 to 12.30 am and there was a small group of 14 PGCE students. The tutor is popular and very competent. He interacted with many of the men students before and during the 'official start' of the session. He used students names to involve them and to elicit their thoughts during the session. It was not until 11.54 however, that he used a woman student's name for the first time. The majority of the interactions were with men and with two men in particular - the 'attention seekers'. Yet he is regarded by tutors as a person who does treat seriously issues of equality of opportunity.

Some people.... have dismissed [equality of opportunity issues] and have said we don't need to think about prejudice you know, it's all over the top. You're exaggerating it all out of proportion. Those people actually need it the most because they're the ones that are actually doing things which are most sexist or racist.

I don't see the world as narrow as just reading and writing. I don't dismiss their importance. We would be failing if we weren't training the children in reading and writing but I think that education is much more than that. And I think it is to do with attitudes.

After the session the tutor looked at my notes and was taken aback. He was concerned about what the women students would have learned from the session in relation to confirming male dominance (FN 5.3.90). This is a case where through discussion with the participant and in the light of other data (in chapter four and five) it is possible to discern a substantial theme in the life of the college.

Participant observation does not aim to observe pre-selected behaviours and record them on structured schedules. It is more exploratory in intention and therefore adopts a more open ended method of recording.... Although this may be a time consuming procedure, such records can contain a wealth of information. Over a period of recording, it is normally possible to discern recurring themes which may lead to a greater understanding of the complex whole of a(n).... environment.

(Pollard and Tann 87:31)

Interviews

As I have discussed above, at the heart of this research methodology is a belief that human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings which things have for them. This will precipitate them towards or away from certain events in their social world; this will cause particular events to be interpreted or read in different ways and will lead to different sorts of material outcomes. In part, all this will be related to the culture or world which the people inhabit, so in the case of my study, the context of teaching and working in a college of higher education will exert some influence on all this. It follows then from all this that the primary way to find out what meanings events hold for people is to ask them.

Interviews can take a number of forms and, as with all elements of research, there is a separate literature in this field (cf. Spradley 79). Essentially, there is a tension between the use of a structured interview which employs a pre-scripted set of questions and probes and the use of the unstructured interview, the "conversation with a purpose" (Kahn and Cannell 75:149).

However, because I was attempting to elicit the tutors' perceptions and meanings, the unstructured interview seemed the only way to proceed. It would allow the participants space and freedom to set their agendas. But there are some important distinctions which need to be drawn. Measor (85:67) has talked about the paradox set within the unstructured interview which is that the researcher "does need a set of thematic areas which he or she wants to cover". I had some specific concerns which I wanted to attend to; these shifted and became progressively more focused as my work proceeded. As I collected data, read about teacher

education, and started to test out some of my hunches, there were new concerns which I needed to raise in the interview setting.

One aspect which arose during this process of an integrated collection and analysis was that I noticed a 'silence' in the data. From my observations it was obvious that gender played an important part in shaping the life and work of the college. Yet no-one had directly mentioned this and there was no reference to the factor of gender in the college documents. I approached three of my key women informants to raise this with them and elicit their reactions to this gap. This was an extremely pro-active manner in which to conduct interviews but I believed it was valid in order to investigate this particular 'missing part' which was there in my observations but missing from other parts of my data.

Related to this particular strand are my concerns about the interview process itself, whether it is structured, semi-structured or unstructured. I have a concern with power relations and with the 'clinical' and 'masculine' nature of the interview. Where there are two people gathered together there are power issues. This may well be played out in relation to structural elements; gender, status, age, sexuality or 'race' for example. Also the interaction of the interviewer-interviewee is reminiscent of psychiatric analysis. The participants sit in a quiet comfortable room with a tape recorder placed unobtrusively to the side. The interviewer probes and teases out perceptions from the informant, making careful but private notes. Measor has described this in a manner which I certainly recognise.

You do have to listen but you also have to look as if you are listening. It reminds me of the advice that driving instructors give you before you do your test, about making sure the examiner notices you are looking into the mirror, before you signal, or turn a corner. Your gestures have to be larger than life. In interviewing, looking as if you're listening means I think, nodding at the client at frequent intervals, making a range of appropriate incoherent 'uhm's' 'aah-ha's' and 'yes's', and God forbid you should miss laughing at someone's joke.... it feels rather as if the interviewer is manipulating other people.

Measor (85:63)

I felt a certain disquiet at times. I also felt patronised on one occasion by one male sociologist who gave me advice about doing research. After all, educationalists cannot be 'proper' researchers. More importantly, I was concerned that I was benefiting from the insights of other women workers who might not get an advantage from this. An older woman who perceived herself to have been by-passed because of her age was at great pains to help me with the work; she wanted to encourage me and support me in my attempts to get a PhD something which was not now possible for her. Essentially though, I was concerned that the interview scenario did not reflect the way in which tutors seemed to interact in the college. From my observations, it was evident that women interacted in informal groups in informal contexts.

TIME YEAR/MONTH	PRIMARY TUTORS	SECONDARY TUTORS	MANAGERS	NON FACULTY	STUDENTS
Feb 89	3		1		2
Mar 89					3
Apr 89	2	2	1	1	
May 89			2	1	2
June 89	3	3	1		
July 89	1		1	1	
Sept 89	1				
Oct 89	5	3		2	
Nov 89	1		1		
Jan 90				1	
Feb 90	2	1			
Mar 90	3	1			
Apr 90			1		
May 90	1			1	
July 90	1				
Oct 90	4				
Nov 90	3	1			
Jan 91	1				
May 91	3	1			
July 91	1				
Mar 92	2				
Totals	37	12	8	7	7

Figure 17 Timings and categories of staff interviewed

In relation to the need to investigate the 'silence' on gender I decided to set up an interview/conversation between myself and two participants over lunch in a local pub. Moving out of the college into neutral space, out of 'work' into 'leisure' was an interesting development. I had previously interviewed retired colleagues in their homes but all other interviews had been conducted in the tutors' own rooms, in their territory, at their convenience. However, the strategy of participating in a discussion of three people was fascinating. I believe that the 'clients' were more empowered by this and that the data collected, as reported in chapter seven, was extremely useful in filling a gap.

I conducted interviews over a period of three and a half years and during this period interviewed as many of the teaching studies faculty as I could (see Fig. 17). However, this table only shows the numbers of taped interviews which were conducted over the period of time spent in the field and does not show the way in which certain people became 'key informants' and were interviewed on a number of occasions (See Fig. 18). Also it is important to note that, as well as the taped interviews, I had many extended conversations with tutors which were not recorded. However, in order to illustrate the element of 'sampling' within the total number of tutors available I have focused on one group of tutors who spend all their time working with intending primary school teachers. Again it is difficult to deal in absolute numbers because of

staff changes over this period of time but from 1989 until 1991 I did speak to the majority of these people.

NAME OF TUTOR	TIMES INTERVIEWED
Jill	2
Rose	9
Julie	3
Liz	6
Eva	5
Tony	2
Jeremy	1
David	1
Malcom	1
Susan	1
Basia	1
Sinead	3
Ben	2

Figure 18 Primary education informants

From this it is clear that some tutors were more involved than others; they were more willing to participate and give me active support and help with my study. Staff left and new tutors joined the faculty and I attempted to include their perceptions and insights. I also interviewed college tutors who were not in the faculty. I interviewed some long-term staff who are not faculty members in order to gain insight into the way in which teacher education is regarded in the college. I interviewed some senior managers although they were frequently difficult to make arrangements with due to their pressure of work.

Conducting the interviews, however, is only a small part of collecting data from interviews. As Stronach has said, "Getting the data is often quick and easy but transcribing, analysing and writing up is slow and difficult" (Stronach 87:207). At the start of my work as I read about research methodology and moved into some understanding of symbolic interactionism and the need for constant comparative analysis while gathering data and reading widely, I decided to do all my own transcription so that I became as familiar as possible with my data and so that I would be more easily able to identify, analyse and organise the categories and concepts which seemed to be important to the college tutors. This proved to be extremely time-consuming although initially it did help me get on the inside of my data. However, Delamont (92:158) makes a useful suggestion: "if there is any money to pay a secretary then that will ease the burden". She points out, accurately, that "one hour of tape recorded interview will take six hours to transcribe roughly". This I can endorse and eventually I had to take Delamont's advice.

Documents

Another valuable source for data was provided by the wide range of documentation that all institutes of higher education have to produce. At the start of the field work I very quickly collected a vast array of documentation. Initially I collected 'public' documents; brochures, fliers, validation booklets, and course descriptions. I also removed interesting notices from boards, photocopying these and replacing them later. I was able to obtain minutes of meetings which were centrally located to facilitate staff access. I also had access to various historical and organisational journals stored in the college library. Some of these documents proved to be more useful than others. The college handbooks and brochures lent weight to my perceptions and commentary on the institutional culture of Sacred Heart. However, the college validation of degree documents and course descriptions were less useful as they were more a statement of intent than a description of material reality. I also found that minutes of meetings were not very useful unless I had been at the meeting myself. However, they did indicate the degree to which the teaching study faculty was and is represented at certain key points in the college policy making structure.

Overall much of the documentary materials which I collected underpinned and validated data which I had collected elsewhere, although there was one notable exception to this. I was given an essay written on educational change by a key member of the teaching studies faculty as part of an external course requirement. This was extremely useful particularly as this tutor was not ever very forthcoming in a 'formal' interview setting.

Doing the field work - a 'rite of passage'

Ball (90c:157) has said that

For the student ethnographer, the decision to choose fieldwork as the primary method for research is typically a plunge into the unknown. Participant observation in natural settings is probably the least well understood, most feared, and most abused of all the contemporary methods of educational research.

I had never undertaken any research like this before but participant observation seemed the best way to attempt to elicit the perceptions of other teacher educators and it seemed to offer a strategy which felt ethically acceptable. I undertook as much reading as possible before starting to collect my data but a time came when I had to make a start and 'do it'.

Fieldwork involves a personal confrontation with the unknown and requires the aspirant to come to grips with the use of theory and method in the context of a confused, murky, contradictory and emergent reality. In many respects this is a rite of passage.

(Ball 90c:168)

Not only was this all part of my experience, it became apparent to me while undertaking this study that there are times and phases where 'everything solid melts into thin air' and then solidifies again. Particularly at the start, while the investigation is embryonic this is the case. While the researcher is developing "categories and concepts" during the data collection (Burgess 85:9) it is sometimes difficult to decide what is relevant. Over time, decisions have to be made and the progressive focusing of the study lends shape to the work. But this is not an easy, painless or straightforwardly progressive shift.

While collecting and analysing data one of the central organising principles which I attempted to work with was that,

the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.

Blumer (86:2).

However, this is not always a conflict-free interaction. Even where entry and access had been carefully negotiated, issues of power - particularly related to gender and status - needed to be carefully addressed at particular times during the period I spent in Sacred Heart College. Sometimes it was very difficult to make arrangements to interview key management personnel. Quite understandably my work was not high on their agenda. There were also some tutors who made it quite clear from the start that they would not be available to discuss their work and neither did some of these return my questionnaire. I can only speculate about this; perhaps uncertainty and low morale made some tutors interpret my research as an attempt to reveal their weak points; or perhaps they were just pressured by too much work and found the prospect of a tutor from another institution with an allowance of time for research an aggravating reminder of the 'intensification' of their work load.

There are also the constant anxieties, emotions and concerns when attempting this sort of study which, as Ball (90c) says, are rarely documented in research accounts:

the boredom and the tiredness, the gaffes and the false trails, and the participant observation syndrome that wherever you are the action is going on somewhere else.

Ball (90c:168)

For me, doing this field work has been a 'rite of passage' and it has been a form of apprenticeship as well. It has been confusing, difficult, depressing, exiting and most of all, it has always been there; a shadow for the last five years of my life, invading my thoughts at unexpected times. Whatever the failings of this study I have certainly gained a great deal of insight into doing participant observation in natural settings. I am also aware of the paradox of

deepening my own critical awareness of teacher education in a time when it is under such great threat.

Conclusion

During the time at Sacred Heart when I was conducting interviews, talking with tutors and observing them in seminars and lectures, I gained an additional perspective on the job of educating teachers. It has always been a complex and contradictory job and has been made even more difficult in recent times. The skills, expertise and professionalism of these workers has been questioned; their job has been trivialised and their contribution ignored. In a period when Shaw's hoary diatribe has been reworked into "Those who can, do. Those who can't, teach. And those who can't teach, teach teachers" and inserted into the public consciousness, there is a need to examine what it really is that teacher educators believe in and do in their working lives. And while it is important to investigate the ways in which their working lives are constrained and informed by external pressures it is just as important to chart the day-to-day interactions, the micro politics of educating teachers because it is here that social reality is constructed since "human beings act on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (Blumer 86:2).

The empirical social world, in short, is the world of everyday experience, the top layers of which, we see in our lives and recognise in the lives of others. The life of a human society, or of any segment of it, or of any organisation in it, or of its participants, consists of the action and experience of people as they meet the situations that arise in their respective worlds.

Blumer (85:35)

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